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CONTENTS

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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

U.S. CSCE Commission Delegation Arrives [ATA]	1
Cami Receives Delegation [ATA]	1
Malile Receives Delegation [Tirana Radio]	1
Delegation Tours City, Holds Reception [ATA]	2
Alia Receives Delegation [Tirana Radio]	2
Farudin Hoxha on Economic Cooperation [BASHKIMI 16 Aug]	3

BULGARIA

Preparations for Final Gulf Evacuation Under Way [Sofia Radio]	5
Government Questioned on Past Aid to Iraq [BTA]	5
Iraqi Envoy on Iranian Relations, Gulf Conflict [NARODNA ARMIYA 17 Aug]	5
Militia Spokesman on 20 Aug 'Clashes' in Sofia [Sofia Radio]	6
Assembly Calls for Removal of 'Foreign' Insignia [BTA]	6
Stanchev Ends Suicide Threat [Sofia Radio]	7
Lilov on BSP Becoming 'Modern Leftist Party' [Sofia Radio]	7
Expects 'Defection of Members' [BTA]	7
President's Council Views Bill on Local Elections [BTA]	8
Sliven Mayor Asks Zhelev To Intervene in Unrest [BTA]	8
Lukanov: Socialism Lost 'Great Chance' in 1968 [BTA]	8
Lukanov Meets With Oblast, Municipal Leaders [Sofia Radio]	9
Article on Lukanov's First 180 Days in Office [DEMOKRATSIYA 14 Aug]	9
Lukanov Moves Seen as Bid To Improve Position [DEMOKRATSIYA 13 Aug]	9
Assembly Procedures, Attitude Towards East Viewed [VECHERNI NOVINI 14 Aug]	10
National Bank Halts Purchases of Kuwaiti Dinars [BTA]	11
Farmworkers Demand Higher Prices for Produce [BTA]	11
Investigations of Zhivkov, Balev Completed [BTA]	11
Wife Says Balev 'Scapegoat' [BTA]	11
Commentary Condemns 'Suspensions' in Society [Stoychev in TRUD 14 Aug]	12
Militia Independent TU Leader Outlines Policy [ANTENI 15 Aug]	12
Zhelev Commutes Death Sentences; Cites Assembly [BTA]	13
Zhelev Receives 'American Free Congress' Group [BTA]	13
Human Rights Discussed With U.S. Delegation [BTA]	13
Bashikarov, Turkish Trade Minister on Cooperation [Sofia Radio]	13
Romanian Gypsies 'Fight With' Police in Ruse [BTA]	14
BTA Runs Correction to Midyear Economic Figures	14

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Delivers 1968 Anniversary Speech [Prague Radio]	15
Havel, Dubcek, Bonner Attend Invasion Anniversary [CTK]	16
Dubcek Speech at Czechoslovak Radio Ceremony [Prague Radio]	16
Poland Conveys Documents on Pact 1968 Invasion [Prague Radio]	17
Dubcek Receives Soviet Demonstrators [CTK]	18
Citizens Leave Baghdad for Amman [CTK]	18
Slovak Premier Receives Cuban Envoy [Bratislava Radio]	18
Active Trade With Mexico Noted; Debts Paid [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 13 Aug]	18
CSFJ Accepted as FORATOM Member [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 14 Aug]	18
Listening Devices Dismantled at Austrian Embassy [Prague Radio]	19

Slovak Premier Cited on Working Water Dam [Budapest Radio]	19
Pithart Evaluates Slovak Position on Federation [CTK]	19
Slovak Government Discusses Issues [Bratislava Radio]	19
Parties Advocate Postponing Local Elections [SVOBODNE SLOVO 18 Aug]	19
Proponents of Moravian Autonomy Form Alliance [MLADA FRONTA 15 Aug]	20
Langos Appeals to Journalists To Use Discretion [Prague Radio]	20
Federal Economic Council Discusses Key Reforms [CTK]	20
Slovak Premier on Need for Expertise in Business [NARODNA OBRODA 13 Aug]	20
Trade Unions Policy Statement in Preparation [RUDE PRAVO 15 Aug]	21
Slovak Economic Data for First Half of 1990 [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 14 Aug]	22
Klaus on Black Market, Exchange Rates [MLADA FRONTA 15 Aug]	23
Klaus Denies Gasoline Price Increase [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 16 Aug]	24
CKD Enterprise To Become Joint Stock Company [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 15 Aug]	24

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Soviet Forces Begin Withdrawal From Neuruppin [ADN]	25
PLO Officer Training Cessation Upheld [ADN]	25
Files on 'La Belle' Attack Reportedly Withheld [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 22 Aug]	25

HUNGARY

Foreign Minister on 'Flexible' Policy in Gulf [Budapest Radio]	26
Minister Bela Kadar on CEMA Status [NEPSZABADSAG 16 Aug]	26
Minister Holds Talks with Austrian Counterpart [Budapest Radio]	27
Gonczi Attends CSFR Reception in Budapest [MTI]	27
Keleti Announces Cut in Military Service [MTI]	27
Officials Speak at St. Stephan's Day Celebration	27
Gonczi Delivers 'Festive Speech' [Budapest Radio]	27
Antall Speaks of Political, Economic Scene [MTI]	27
Statistical Office Head on Activity, Tasks [MAGYAR HIRLAP 15 Aug]	28

POLAND

Evacuation of Poles From Kuwait, Iraq Continues [PAP]	29
NATO-Warsaw Pact Rapprochement Viewed [Wagrowska in RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 Aug]	29
Official Views East, West Bloc Relations [ZYCIE WARSZAWY 18-19 Aug]	30
PAP, CTK Sign Cooperation Agreement [PAP]	32
New Telecommunications Network Introduced [RZECZPOSPOLITA 16 Aug]	32
Parties' Alternative Economic Programs Assessed [GAZETA WYBORCZA 17 Aug]	33
National Party Concern at Solidarity '80 Decision [PAP]	34
KPN-Democratic Faction Founded in Warsaw [Warsaw Radio]	34

ROMANIA

Iraqi Embassy Denies Husayn Assassination Rumors [ROMPRES]	35
Bulgaria 'Virtually' Closes Romanian Border [TANJUG]	35
World Bank Said Willing To Work With Romania [ROMPRES]	35
Budapest Ambassador Inquires About Tokes' Health [ADEVARUL 11 Aug]	35
Romanian Workers on Soviet Work Site Strike [ROMPRES]	35
Daily Condemns Pro-Transylvania Foundation [ROMPRES]	36
Deputies Chamber's Roman Meets FRG Official [ROMPRES]	36
Daily Views Inside Plots To Overthrow Ceausescu [DREPTATEA 12 Aug]	36
Former Detainees Group Holds Cluj Conference [ROMPRES]	37
Privatization Agency Secretary on Economic Needs [ROMPRES]	37
Brasov Truck Factory Holds Warning Strike [ROMPRES]	37
Public Opinion on Parliament, President Scored [ROMPRES]	37
Commission Ordered To Look Into Brasov Situation [ROMPRES]	38
Romanian Bank To Open 'Soon' in Bucharest [ROMPRES]	38
Former Interior Ministry Officials Go on Trial [ROMPRES]	38

Nicu Ceausescu's Trial Resumes in Sibiu 21 Aug [ROMPRES]	39
Timis County NLP Requests Deputies' Replacement [VIITORUL 14 Aug]	39
Pitesti, Curtea De Arges Water Pollution Noted [ROMPRES]	39
Fatal Express Train Accident Investigated [ROMPRES]	40
ROMANIA MUNCITOARE Changes Name [ROMPRES]	40
PNL-Youth Wing Issues New Publication [ROMPRES]	40
* Need for Voters To Give Up Hero Worship [ROMANIA LIBERA 8 Aug]	40
* Regrouping of Political Forces Cited [ROMANIA LIBERA 4 Aug]	41
* Manescu Address to Foreign Policy Group [LUMEA AZI 2 Aug]	42
* Student Leader Munteanu Asserts Innocence [DREPTATEA 5 Aug]	44
* Romanian Press on 'Hungarian Empire' Book [ADEVARUL 10 Aug]	45

YUGOSLAVIA

Iraqi Ambassador Discusses Crisis, SFRY Trade [BORBA 18-19 Aug]	47
Reaction to Serbian Referendum, Unrest in Knin	48
Tudjman: 'Scenario of Destabilization' [TANJUG]	48
Tudjman Invites International Observers [TANJUG]	49
Mesic: 'National Awareness' Released [TANJUG]	49
Serbian Party Leaders Meet [Belgrade Radio]	49
Jovic Briefed; Stresses Unity [TANJUG]	50
Referendum Begins in Backa Palanka [Belgrade Radio]	51
Croatian Parties Issue Proclamation [TANJUG]	51
Protest Issued to Federal Officials [BORBA 18-19 Aug]	52
Attempts To Change Cyrillic Signs [VJESNIK 17 Aug]	52
POLITIKA: 'State Terrorism in Croatia' [18 Aug]	52
'Danger of Civil War' Viewed [Biscevic in VJESNIK 14 Aug]	53
Rumors of Unrest in Gracac [Zagreb Radio]	53
Regional Reaction Noted [TANJUG]	54
Tudjman Views Use of Force Before Referendum [SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 12 Aug]	54
Kosovo Government Extends Support to Croatia [VJESNIK 20 Aug]	55
Pristina Radio, TV Workers Issue Demands [TANJUG]	55
Serbian Ministry Lists Parties for Registration [TANJUG]	55
20 Percent of Slovene Recruits To Serve at Home [TANJUG]	56
Zenica Miners Join Kreka Miners' Strike [TANJUG]	56
Kreka Miners Agree To Disperse [TANJUG]	56
Vuk Karadzic Replaces Tito on School Textbooks [VJESNIK 13 Aug]	56
Reform Alliance Member Calls for 'Tolerance' [BORBA 10 Aug]	57
Macedonia's Mitkov Hears Vevcani Group's Request [TANJUG]	58
Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Appeals for Loyalty [TANJUG]	58
Alleged Attack on SDA, SDS Members Probed [TANJUG]	58

U.S. CSCE Commission Delegation Arrives

*AU1908145890 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT
19 Aug 90*

[Text] Tirana, August 19 (ATA)—A delegation of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, headed by Senator Dennis De Concini, chairman of this Commission and made up of Senator Paul Sarbanes, Congressman Jim Moody, and other personalities arrived in our country on August 19. In the course of its stay here the delegation will hold different negotiations and will conduct activities. Among others it will discuss on the problems of security and cooperation in Europe.

Present to welcome it at the airport were Rolanda Dhimitri, deputy chairwoman of the Foreign Affairs Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly; Dritero Agolli, deputy, as well as officials of the Foreign Ministry.

Cami Receives Delegation

*AU2008130490 Tirana ATA in English 0809 GMT
20 Aug 90*

[Text] Tirana, August 19 (ATA)—The chairman of the Foreign Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly, Foto Cami, received on August 19 afternoon the delegation of the Commission of the U.S. Congress on Security and Cooperation in Europe, headed by the chairman of this commission, Senator Dennis De Concini.

In the conversation with them Foto Cami voiced his satisfaction on behalf of the Foreign Commission of the People's Assembly, of having the chance to meet and talk with the U.S. parliamentarians.

He spoke to the members of the delegation on the history and struggles of our people in centuries for freedom and independence, pointing to the great transformations that have taken place following the liberation in all the fields. He dwelt on the new developments in our country, as well as on the measures adopted in the context of the democratization of the whole life in the field of economy and legislation as well, on Albania's readiness to intensify its activity in various international organisms. He also pointed to the importance Albania has devoted to the process of European cooperation and security, in whose activities it takes part as observer.

Concerning these and other problems, the U.S. congressmen said that they admire the spirit of freedom and independence of the Albanian people and they respect Albania for this. They spoke of the aim and activity of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe whose representatives they are and said that they welcomed Albania's participation as observer in this process.

Foto Cami voiced his confidence that the visit of this delegation of the U.S. congressmen in Albania will

contribute to the cooperation and development of relations between our two countries and strengthening of friendship between the two peoples.

The reception was also attended by Stefan Qirjako, member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Rolanda Dhimitri, vice-chairwoman of the Foreign Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly; Dritero Agolli, secretary of this commission; Petraq Pojani, director of multilateral cooperation at the Foreign Ministry, and others.

In honour of the delegation of the congressmen from the United States of America, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly, Foto Cami, gave a dinner tonight.

Attending were Enver Halili, minister of justice; Kleanthi Koci, chairman of the High Court of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania; Llambi Gegprifti, chairman of the Executive Committee of Tirana District People's Council; Muhamet Kapllani, deputy foreign minister; Prof. Sofokli Lazri, director of the International Relations Study Institute; deputies, senior state officials, intellectuals, and officials of the Foreign Ministry.

The dinner passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Malile Receives Delegation

*AU2008185590 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 20 Aug 90*

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Reis Malile today received the delegation of the U.S. Congressional Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, chaired by Senator Dennis De Concini.

During his meeting with the U.S. congressmen, Reis Malile talked about Albania's foreign policy, the expansion of its international relations—in this context, the importance of the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania—and the new developments in Europe. He stressed that Albania supports positive steps which contribute to strengthening peace in Europe. He also spoke about the importance of the new political conditions, and the activity of the CSCE—especially now that we are on the threshold of its institutionalization. Albania, he said, is interested in making its direct contribution to peace and security within this process. Reis Malile also emphasized the need to strengthen the work of the United Nations as the only universal organization of a political character. He also dwelt on the process of Balkan cooperation and expressed the confidence that joint efforts will ensure that the meeting of Balkan foreign ministers, to be held shortly in Tirana, will take place in a constructive spirit to promote Balkan cooperation. For their part, Senator De Concini, Senator Sarbanes, and Congressman Moody expressed their appreciation of the independent policy pursued by Albania

and its current activity. They welcomed Albania's participation in the CSCE process and expressed the conviction that, in the future, Albania will be an active member in it. They also appreciated Albania's role in Balkan cooperation as an integral part of positive processes in Europe.

Delegation Tours City, Holds Reception

*AU2108130190 Tirana ATA in English 0827 GMT
21 Aug 90*

[Text] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)—The delegation of the Commission of the U.S. Congress on Security and Cooperation in Europe had a series of activities in the capital on August 20.

It had a meeting before noon with the chairman of the Supreme Court of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Kleanthi Koci, who acquainted the U.S. congressmen with our legislation. Besides, the chairman of the Supreme Court concentrated especially on the measures adopted and being adopted for the perfection and democratization of the Albanian legislation and the penal code. He underscored that these measures aim at preserving and respecting the legislation and the human rights.

On August 20 afternoon, the delegation of the U.S. congressmen went to the National Museum of History and the "Enver Hoxha" Museum where they got acquainted with the ancient and current history of our people, their efforts for freedom, independence, national liberation and social progress, and with the life and death of the leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha. [sentence as received] In these two institutions, the leader of the delegation, Senator Dennis DeConcini and other members of the delegation left their impressions in the visitors book where they expressed, among others, their satisfaction, thanking for the broad information given to them and wishing the Albanian people always peace, freedom and prosperity.

On the same day, the U.S. parliamentarians met, in one of the halls of "Dajti" Hotel, with some people of the Greek minority in Albania. They talked of the position of the Greek minority in Albania, the rights they enjoy in all the fields, everywhere where they live and work.

On occasion of his visit to Albania, the delegation of the Commission of the U.S. Congress on Security and Cooperation in Europe headed by the chairman of this commission, the Senator Dennis DeConcini gave a reception in "Dajti" Hotel on August 20.

Present were the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly, Foto Cami; the minister of justice, Enver Halili; the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tirana District People's Council, Llambi Gegprifti; the vice minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani; the director of the International Relations Study Institute, Prof. Sofokli

Lazri; deputies, senior state functionaries, intellectuals and employees of the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Attending were also heads of the diplomatic representations accredited to the PSR of Albania.

During the reception, greetings were exchanged by the chairman of the Commission of the U.S. Congress on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Senator Dennis DeConcini, and by the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Foto Cami.

The reception passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Alia Receives Delegation

*AU2108190090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received, in the Palace of Brigades today, the delegation of the U.S. Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This delegation was headed by its chairman, Dennis DeConcini, and consisted of Senator Paul Sarbanes, Congressman Jim Moody, and others accompanying them. Deputies Rolanda Dhimitri and Dritero Agolli and Deputy Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani were also present at the reception.

During the meeting, Comrade Ramiz Alia outlined the situation in our country and spoke about the historical traditions of the Albanian people, and their freedom-loving, peace-loving, and democratic spirit. Albania, he emphasized, has followed its own road of development and progress, a road which its people, themselves, have chosen and which expresses their aspirations. He dwelt on the changes that have taken place in the life of the Albanian people, stressing that our country is now forging ahead with optimism and the hope of further democratizing all areas of life. This process—a requirement for our development—opens new doors and provides major prospects for the progress and prosperity of the people, and for stronger relations of friendship and cooperation with other countries and peoples of the world. Comrade Ramiz Alia said that Albania, as a European country, devotes particular attention to new developments in Europe. Furthermore, Albania is seriously interested in taking part in the process of security and cooperation in Europe, in order to make its direct contribution to this process.

For his part, Senator Dennis DeConcini expressed his thanks for the warm reception and the straightforward discussion with Comrade Ramiz Alia, emphasizing the value and importance of normalizing relations between the United States and Albania and of Albania's full participation in the CSCE. He also expressed his pleasure at visiting Albania, and at his many meetings and contacts with Albanian officials and ordinary citizens.

Farudin Hoxha on Economic Cooperation

AU2208105490 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian
16 Aug 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Foreign Economic Cooperation Committee by Genc Tirana; place and date not given: "Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries—A Further Step in Our Economy's Development"]

[Text] [Tirana] The two decrees on further expanding our country's economic relations with foreign countries will promote cooperation between these countries. Can you elaborate on this?

[Hoxha] Economic, industrial, technical, and financial cooperation with foreign countries is an inseparable part of the new economic mechanism. Through this cooperation, we aim to reconstruct existing plants and build new plants with up-to-date technology. This will be accomplished with the investments made by foreign firms. These investments will be repayed by our country after the plant receives a commission to produce certain products, or with the incomes which will be earned from the sale of these products. In this cooperation, priority will be given to the development of major branches of the economy which will increase exports, reduce imports, and produce a greater quantity and variety of common consumer goods and food products. These include the mining and energy industries, the light industry, the food industry, agriculture, engineering, construction materials, and so forth. Specific goals have been set for these sectors in accordance with present and future plans for the country's economic development. Economic, industrial, technical, and financial cooperation with foreign countries also gives our country's economy the opportunity to direct the investments for these purposes to other sectors.

Contacts with representatives of many foreign firms have indicated a considerable interest in cooperating with our country, with mutual profit in the aforementioned fields. The fact that these plans require considerable investments, however, means that the firms will demand the necessary guarantees for their investments. The recently approved decrees provide these guarantees.

[Tirana] Foreign firms and individuals may now invest in our country. Have there been any offers so far, and is anyone being given priority consideration?

[Hoxha] We have now reached economic, industrial, and technical cooperation agreements, and signed the relevant protocols with 12 states; among these states are Turkey, the FRG, France, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Italy, and Greece. Work is also being done to extend this cooperation to other countries. Within the framework of these agreements, discussions have been, and are being, held with many state enterprises and semi-state and private firms. Our greatest opportunities are with the latter; therefore, we are concentrating our

efforts on them. Specific proposals have been made and discussed on many new proposals and reconstruction projects which have been provided for in the plan for the country's economic and social development. A considerable number of these firms have come to our country, held discussions with our specialists, and inspected the plants and projects on site. Such talks are being held about modernizing and expanding chrome and copper mines, reconstructing existing enrichment plants and building new ones, and solving the complex problems of the "Steel of the Party" Combine. The discussions have ranged from the extraction and enrichment of ferro-nickel ore down to the reconstruction of various links in the technological process, in order to improve technical and economic performance and to eliminate environmental pollution. There are also discussions regarding the rational exploitation of the country's energy sources, the introduction of new technology in the forestry and wood-processing industries, increasing the level of mechanization in agriculture, creating new processing plants for agricultural and dairy products for domestic consumption and export, renewing our truck pool as soon as possible, and so forth. We are making every effort to ease the implementation and realization of cooperation where this plant is concerned. It must, nevertheless, be said that difficulties exist, although we are trying to solve them as quickly as possible and to provide the firms with all the conditions they need. In determining tangible goals, we have kept in mind the opportunities for cooperation with firms from each individual country, both from the financial and the technological angle. In the context of this cooperation, priority will be given to our compatriots living abroad.

[Tirana] Which sectors of the economy are best prepared for this cooperation? What sort of tasks face them?

[Hoxha] This cooperation has, in practice, already begun. It is still in its initial stages, and its achievements so far are modest. Production is being carried out with materials supplied by the customer. Work is also being done on joint production with foreign partners. Various production lines for shoes and ready-made clothing have been created, contracts are being drawn up for experimental programs in rice and corn production, to increase productivity and the level of mechanization in certain industrial production lines, wood processing, and so forth. Of course, the recently concluded contract with a French firm for the delivery of technological equipment to the Banje hydroelectric power station—an investment to be paid for with the earnings from the production of electricity after the plant is commissioned—and the speedy realization of the contract for the prospecting, discovery, and exploitation of oil and gas in our sector of the sea both occupy a special place here.

The highest level of economic cooperation that is now generally preferred in relations between states, however, is that in which enterprises carry out their work with the participation of foreign capital. This makes foreign partners much more interested. This is because this form of cooperation ensures the feasibility and profit of the

investment that they make; they not only bring the machinery, equipment, and technology, but they also take a direct part in the organization of production and its sale. Such a form of cooperation is also of interest to us because it guarantees the introduction of contemporary technology, production quality, and the technical and professional training of working people, and also secures export markets. The recent decree issued for this purpose creates every possibility for the creation of such enterprises in different sectors of the economy, according to the tasks and goals set by the plan for the country's economic and social development.

[Tirana] How will the respective interests of the two cooperating countries, and those of the individuals who work in these enterprises, be reconciled?

[Hoxha] Foreign states and firms are interested in investing in foreign countries. This is due to the fact that the raw materials for the production lines and factories which will be built originate in these countries. Transportation costs are, therefore, substantially reduced, the work force is cheaper, and profits are greater as a result. This is a phenomenon which can be seen everywhere today.

We see broad prospects for the development of our country in economic, industrial, technical, and financial

cooperation with foreign countries. We are working to seize all these opportunities, so they will become profitable as soon as possible.

The introduction of new technology in these enterprises will undoubtedly improve labor productivity and reduce production costs, resulting in greater incomes for the people who work there. This has already been noticed in those enterprises cooperating with foreign firms. It is our aim that these earnings, both for the individual and the country as a whole, will steadily increase. We must stress, however, that a great deal of sustained work is demanded from our workers and specialists to improve their technical and professional training; contemporary technology and modern production mean that these enterprises will require highly qualified and skilled people.

The two recent decrees of the Presidium of the People's Assembly have created every opportunity to expand and deepen economic, industrial, technical, and financial cooperation with foreign countries and firms. It is our task, as well as that of specialists in the ministries, other central institutions, and the enterprises, to prepare the relevant and necessary instructions and regulations as soon as possible for the implementation of these decrees. It is also the duty of all managers and working people in the economy to acquaint themselves, in detail, with the contents of these decrees, and to work much harder and more concretely than before for their implementation.

Preparations for Final Gulf Evacuation Under Way

*AU2208102590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
0900 GMT 22 Aug 90*

[Text] We contacted Mr. Zdravko Velez, head of the Arab Countries Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and asked him about the evacuation of the last group of Bulgarians in Kuwait, and the pending evacuation of the Bulgarian citizens who work in Iraq.

[Begin Velez recording] According to information provided by the Bulgarian Embassy in Kuwait, preparations for evacuating the last group of Bulgarian citizens have now begun. The group also includes the five Bulgarian doctors who were mobilized by the Iraqi authorities. We expect the convoy of about 10 private cars to arrive on 23 or 24 August in Baghdad, and after a brief rest there, they will continue to Bulgaria through Turkey.

At the moment only the employees of the embassy and the trade representation, as well as one employee of Transimpex and (?Soomat) remain in Kuwait.

In connection with the preparations for evacuating from Iraq the women, children, and specialists and workers whose work contracts have expired, we can report that their trip is being prepared. It will take place on 25 August, Saturday. They will travel by bus from Baghdad to Amman, where they will probably arrive on 26 August at noon. Their transportation from Amman to Bulgaria will be conducted by Balkan charter flights. The group consists of 187 people. [end recording]

Government Questioned on Past Aid to Iraq

*AU2208070190 Sofia BTA in English
1959 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—Today in the Bulgarian parliament the national representative of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party addressed an interpellation to Premier Andrey Lukanov and Finance Minister Belcho Belchev, asking them if now, when Germany is uniting, the possibilities have been studied for that country's refunding its debt to Bulgaria which was made before and at the time of World War II. According to Mikhaylov's estimation the amount accumulated in the 1932-1944 period comes up to more than 38 milliard leva; the calculations are based on currency exchange rate of the lev in 1939. A similar question has been recently posed by another Bulgarian citizen in ZORA, the paper of the Bulgarian National Democratic Party.

The government received other interpellations, too. The most serious of them was made by the parliamentary union of the opposition: The question was if Bulgaria has rendered military assistance to Iraq, if Iraqi military specialists have been trained in this country, if there are any Bulgarian military advisers in Iraq now, what the Bulgarian military aide to Iraq has been up to now, what part of the money Iraq owes to Bulgaria is due for weapons supplied. The opposition requires a detailed report about Bulgaria's trade in arms.

Today the Bulgarian parliament went on with the debates on the report of the Socialist one-party government. Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov was criticized by the opposition again: for the construction industry, health care, the country's foreign debt, education, ecology.

In his speech the minister of economy and planning, Ivan Tenev, underlined that the only economic way out for Bulgaria is the legislative deblocking and speeding up of the reform in compliance with the principles worked out by the economic experts at the national roundtable.

Iraqi Envoy on Iranian Relations, Gulf Conflict

*AU2208074290 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 17 Aug 90 p 4*

[Interview with Iraqi Ambassador Fawz al-'Ani by unidentified reporter in Sofia; date not given: "We Are Preparing for a Determined Resistance"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Reporter] On 16 August the world press agencies reported that Iraq will withdraw from all occupied Iranian territories, an area totaling 2,600 square kilometers; it will free the Iranian prisoners of war; and it will agree to a border with Iran along the Shatt-al-'Arab river. How would you explain this step, as well as the form of address "Brother Rafsanjani?"

[al-'Ani] What happened on 16 August did not occur all at once. Our state leaderships have been maintaining a correspondence for some time. Following the meeting between the foreign ministers in Geneva, a mutual desire was expressed to settle the problems as soon as possible. Accordingly, Iraq's step is not caused by the Gulf crisis. It is a serious act in order to achieve a just peace.

[Reporter] Militarily, Iraq is a strong country. Are you not afraid of the fact that no one loves the strong?

[al-'Ani] This is the main reason for the furious attacks by the Americans and the Zionists. They do not want us to make progress in science, industry, and military equipment, nor to be able to defend ourselves and defend the small states. They do not want us to avail ourselves of our own riches. However, we are entitled to have a strong Army and modern equipment. The aim of our Army is not aggression, but defense, protection of our borders. Why is Israel allowed to have all means of mass destruction and to possess the largest arsenal of weapons? It is because Israel is a tool against the Palestinians and the neighboring states.

[Reporter] Do you believe in the success of President Husayn's initiative, or is this simply a tactical move? Will Israel agree to the wish expressed in the initiative that it withdraw all troops from foreign territories?

[al-'Ani] I think that when the Security Council issues resolutions concerning the withdrawal of the troops of Israel, Syria, and Iraq, they should all carry them out. If the other countries withdraw their troops and fulfill the conditions, Iraq will be ready to answer the demands.

[Reporter] We live in a period when the confrontation between East and West is disappearing. Can one speak of a confrontation between North and South, or a clash between Christianity and Islam?

[al-'Ani] You are well acquainted with the new thinking. We are all following the processes taking place between East and West. In my personal opinion, the United States is doing everything possible to achieve hegemony. It is making use of the changes in the Soviet Union in order to dictate its policies to the developing countries. Of course, the United States utilizes all possible means, and the contradictions have been also transferred into the sphere of religions.

[Reporter] How do you view the future development of the crisis in the Persian Gulf and your relations with Bulgaria?

[al-'Ani] We conduct wide cooperation with Bulgaria. There is an evident mutual wish to intensify the cooperation between the two friendly peoples. We want our relations to develop, and we have great possibilities for this. The restoration of Iraq's economy after the war offers great prospects for your organizations. For our part, we export large quantities of petroleum to Bulgaria. We are ready to respond to your country's wishes. We are a rich state, and rely on mutual interest.

The United States' aggressive acts are well known to everyone, and if something happens, the entire region will be exposed to total danger. The entire U.S. presence in the Gulf region will be exposed to risk. They will suffer defeat. The United States will bear the consequences.

Militia Spokesman on 20 Aug 'Clashes' in Sofia

*AU2108193090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] Two people injured, later taken to the Pirogov Emergency Hospital for treatment, several teeth knocked out, and one person with an arm injury—these were the results of the peaceful actions held at the same time in Sofia yesterday evening by the Movement for Civil Peace and Legality, and the inhabitants of the Town of Truth.

Where were our militiamen, and what action did they take? Major Nikola Nikolov, spokesman of the Sofia People's Militia Directorate, told us the following over the telephone:

[Begin Nikolov recording] Both demonstrations were held in breach of the Law on Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations. Neither the Sofia City People's Council nor the organs of the People's Militia were notified about them.

[Announcer] What kind of measures were you obliged to take?

[Nikolov] Despite the short time available to us, the officers of the People's Militia took the necessary lawful measures to prevent violations of public order, mass fighting, clashes, and other displays of physical force. Over 500 of our officers took part in guarding the two

rallies, and in addition teams were formed of the People's Militia and the fire brigade with the aim of preventing an suicide attempt by Plamen Stanchev and [words indistinct] Father Ambarev. Our efforts were directed at forming a militia cordon between the two rallies and ensuring public order throughout the square.

[Announcer] Despite everything, some clashes did take place between the two groups, and some injured people were taken to the Pirogov Hospital. Did you punish any of the people who lost control?

[Nikolov] Because of the lack of advance notification, which resulted in the approach and exit routes for the participants of the two rallies not being marked, we were hindered in acting effectively. We were unable to stop certain isolated incidents of violence against citizens while they were withdrawing in different directions. Despite this, I believe that our actions were quite effective. Order was maintained in the square, and individual offenders against public order were apprehended and dealt with. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Assembly Calls for Removal of 'Foreign' Insignia

*AU2208070990 Sofia BTA in English
2021 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—Based on the Constitution, the agreements reached at the roundtable talks and on the Political Parties Law, today the Grand National Assembly adopted a decision according to which the state bodies and the political parties should remove all insignia of foreign countries from buildings, flags and from the National Anthem.

The decision of the parliament, which had been worked out by a contact group formed by the major political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly, was adopted after the ultimatum of Plamen Stanchev of the Civil Disobedience Initiative that he would burn himself to death if the pentacle was not removed from the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in the centre of Sofia. Last night he postponed the putting into effect of his threat for this evening. That is why the M.P.'s hurried up with making their decision.

Later on Plamen Stanchev told a BTA reporter that as the decision of the Grand National Assembly satisfied the demands made by the Civil Disobedience Initiative, he would cancel the self-ignition declared by him, but that the representatives of the initiative would stay on in front of the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party until the decision was implemented.

"Plamen Stanchev's torch will not shine so brightly as that of Jan Palach did," the opposition M.P. of the Independent Human Rights Society, Rumen Vodenicharov, said. He defined Stanchev's intended sacrifice as senseless and blamed him for hindering the democratic process.

Later on the building of the parliament was surrounded by people who were discontented with Vodenicharov's statement. Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, had to calm down the crowd. He assured the people that the parliamentary decision for the removal of non-Bulgarian symbols would be implemented and that Todor Zhivkov and all those involved in crimes against the people would be held responsible for their doings. Dr. Dertliev underlined that democracy requires tolerant attitude towards other people's views, but despite his words the crowd chanted "give Rumen to us" and "down with the BCP" [Bulgarian Communist Party].

In view of the situation, the M.P.'s decided to cut off today's sitting without having completed their debates on the agenda.

Stanchev Ends Suicide Threat

*AU2108193390 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] At 2030 [1730 GMT] this evening in Sofia, a little after the National Assembly had adopted a resolution on abolishing non-Bulgarian symbols, Plamen Stanchev of the Civil Disobedience Initiative made the following statement to journalists:

We have received the text of the declaration of the Grand National Assembly which fulfills our demands. I am therefore ending my hunger strike and withdrawing my threat to set fire to myself. However, I will remain outside the main entrance of the Bulgarian Socialist Party building until my demand has been carried out, said Plamen Stanchev.

Lilov on BSP Becoming 'Modern Leftist Party'

*AU2108110790 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Report on interview with Aleksandur Lilov by Aglaya Shamlieva in Sofia on 21 August]

[Excerpt] On 21 August at the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], Aleksandur Lilov, Aleksandur Strezov, Rumen Serbezov, and Dimitur Yonchev gave a news conference which lasted two hours. A short while ago, our reporter Aglaya Shamlieva brought the recording of a brief interview with Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council:

[Begin Recording] [Shamlieva] Did you get used to those difficult news conferences, at which we journalists argue about every single comma or word?

[Lilov] Your questions are interesting because they are stimulating. I do not think that those news conferences are something unpleasant. On the contrary, I need such intellectual stimulations, because they are connected with the most acute problems of society and the party, and thus facilitate my own work.

[Shamlieva] Do you think that a ruling party which has such a substantial parliamentary majority, is capable of renewing itself?

[Lilov] Of course, otherwise why do we need the BSP draft platform, which we discussed during the last two hours? I believe that our party can renew itself. How many members it will have is an issue the party itself will decide through the self-determination of its members. Those party members who support the new platform will comprise the new membership. You will know their number at the end of the party's 39th congress.

[Shamlieva] Regardless of what we call this process—disintegration or reorganization—when a giant party returns to the traditional patterns of the European parliamentary parties, as in any other disintegration process, energy accumulates. Does this energy bring us closer to the threat of civil war?

[Lilov] Do not be afraid. The chaos and disruptions of civil peace will not be initiated by the BSP. This is an organized and mature party with a 100-year history, great political experience, and clear policy on civil peace and the peaceful transition toward democratic society in Bulgaria. The danger for order and the peaceful transition in Bulgaria does not come from our party.

[Shamlieva] You are a professional politician. How do you see your contribution to turning the BSP into a modern leftist party?

[Lilov] If I may be frank, the achievement of this goal will not be a rapid and easy process. However, I believe that this goal will be achieved. [end recording]

The BSP draft platform was published yesterday, and this was the reason for the BSP news conference which took place today. [passage omitted]

Expects 'Defection of Members'

*AU2108134790 Sofia BTA in English
1155 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—Momentous changes are expected at the forthcoming congress of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] (due to open on September 22). Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), told a news conference today. He explained that the processes of renewal and essentially of forming a new party will inevitably result in a defection of members. "We do not dramatize this and, moreover, we think this is a healthy process," the Socialists' leader emphasized.

In Mr. Lilov's view, the people who leave the BSP may join the broad spectrum of left-wing parties in Bulgaria.

Still, the incumbent BSP leadership views a split of the party as undesirable and regards renewal as a process of a consolidation of the reformist forces within the party.

The BSP leader elaborated on the meaning implied by a social democratization of the party. "These processes are

interpreted too narrowly. It is a question of borrowing the most useful elements of social democratic theory and practice without limiting ourselves to them," he pointed out. "We will use the most valuable things in the theory of socialism and we will look for the achievements of the new alternative movements around the world."

"As to Marxism-Leninism, we can't see a reason why we should give up these premises which still work," the BSP leader emphasized.

"The totalitarian system is in crisis, as is the party typical of totalitarianism, and this is what necessitates the changes," Mr. Lilov said.

The news conference was held in connection with the draft platform on a further renewal and reform of the BSP, which was published in yesterday's "DUMA" so that the Socialists could discuss it before their congress.

Asked about last night's nerve-racking parallel rallies held in Sofia by supporters of different political forces, Mr. Lilov declined to comment on these specific actions but deemed it necessary to observe that the situation in the country is alarming and that the political forces should work out as soon as possible a joint strategy to ease tensions.

President's Council Views Bill on Local Elections

*AU2108174090 Sofia BTA in English
1710 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—Today the Consultative Council with the Bulgarian Presidency held a session. The members of the council considered a draft law amending the People's Councils Law in connection with the forthcoming elections for local authorities. The representatives of the political forces will submit the document for discussion to their parliamentary groups.

A draft document for the amendment of the Political Parties Law was also debated in connection with the full depolitization of the Army, the police, the courts of law, the Prosecuting Magistracy and the Bulgarian diplomatic corps abroad.

The president of the Republic informed the Consultative Council about the talks he had with representatives of some of these institutions, and an agreement in principle was expressed that their depolitization is necessary. The draft law will be submitted to the parliamentary groups of the political parties for discussion.

President Zhelyu Zhelev asked the representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party to familiarize their parliamentary group with the arguments put forward at the session and to inform him about the position the group would take.

He expressed his conviction that the settlement of the problems discussed at today's session of the Consultative Council would contribute to the assertion of civil peace in the country.

Sliven Mayor Asks Zhelev To Intervene in Unrest

*AU2108184290 Sofia BTA in English
1744 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, August 21 (BTA)—In an open letter addressed to President Zhelyu Zhelev the mayor of Sliven insists on the personal intervention of the head of state for the normalization of the situation in the town, which is situated in eastern Bulgaria and has a population of 150 thousand.

According to Mayor Anton Gospodinov, the continuing demonstrations in the centre of the town, at which demands are made for the resignation of the mayor and the secretary of the town council, create conditions for conflicts and incidents that may have unforeseeable consequences.

The initiator of the protests is the Town of Truth in Sliven, the leader of which threatened he would burn himself to death if the demonstrators' demand for the resignation of the mayor and the secretary of the town council is not complied with. After the dialogue he held with the mayor of Sliven through the agency of the local bishop, the leader of the Town of Truth gave up his self-ignition decision, but the protest actions in the centre of Sliven are going on.

The mass media report about protest drives carried out in many places in the country. At strikes, demonstrations and other mass actions different demands are made, most of them being addressed to the town councils.

At a meeting held yesterday in the capital, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov informed the mayors of all big towns about the consultations which are under way in connection with the preparations for the forthcoming local authorities elections.

Lukanov: Socialism Lost 'Great Chance' in 1968

*AU2208070790 Sofia BTA in English
1945 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—Socialism lost its great chance in 1968 with the "help" of the former leadership of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. This was Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov's comment on the deplorable anniversary of the crushing of the "Prague Spring" by the troops of the Warsaw Treaty Organization he made in a statement on this occasion aired by the Bulgarian Television today.

Mr. Lukanov reminded that Bulgaria had already condemned the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, defining it as an impermissible act of interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and supported the stand taken by the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee to this effect.

According to the Bulgarian prime minister, one of the leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the anniversary

of the intervention of the Warsaw Treaty Organization is "especially regrettable" for the Socialists. In 1968 Czechoslovakia made a very brave, decisive and very sincere attempt to embark on a new road at the time of the then real socialism—the road to democracy and humanism, the road we, the Socialists, are trying to follow now, Mr. Lukanov said.

According to Andrey Lukanov socialism will continue to develop both as an idea and as a process in many countries, but the 22 years that have elapsed since the "Prague Spring" was crushed are fatally lost. As a party and as a nation we can justly be ashamed of our participation in these events, the prime minister said.

Today the Grand National Assembly stood in a one-minute silence in memory of the victims of the intervention of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

One of the demands of In the Name of Truth Movement recently formed in the country is to remove from the Bulgarian parliament all national representatives who took part in making the decision for the Bulgarian troops' joining the intervention in Czechoslovakia.

Lukanov Meets With Oblast, Municipal Leaders

AU2008185790 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] On 20 August at the Council of Ministers, a meeting with the chairmen of the country's oblast and municipal people's councils took place. Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov briefed the participants on the consultations that are conducted, in connection with the preparations for the municipal elections, and pointed out that a final decision on the term of the councils' prerogatives will be adopted by the Grand National Assembly.

The situation in the country requires that the municipal organs and their leaders efficiently implement their functions in order to prevent the creation of a vacuum in the administration, as well as a decrease of interest in the vital interests and problems of the population in the relevant municipalities.

In this context urgent issues related to the activity of the local municipal organs were discussed. Among them were providing supplies for the population, preparations for the winter, housing construction, the successful beginning of the new school year, protecting public order in the settlements, and so forth.

Article on Lukanov's First 180 Days in Office

AU2108211590 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA
in Bulgarian 14 Aug 90 p 1

[Volen Siderov article: "Lukanov's 180 Days"]

[Text] On 8 February, assuming the post of prime minister, Andrey Lukanov stated in his single-party cabinet's program declaration that the government is

"firmly convinced of the necessity of advancing toward a comprehensive reform of the country's economic life in accordance with the principles of a market economy." Naturally, the government (then still communist), did not begin a comprehensive reform program. However, this was not the worst thing. With the amusing naivete of a native hoping to neutralize the rifle of the white colonizer with homemade magic, he tried shallow street-corner card players' tricks on the Western partners. Only two months after declaring that "Bulgaria will continue to properly implement its international obligations," Mr. Lukanov's government stopped, without any warning, the payments of our foreign debt according to the children's principle "I am not playing anymore." The stores were kept at least partially stocked until the elections. However, the real result is that in the future every foreign partner will think at least twice before establishing relations of any kind with a Bulgarian partner. In the final analysis he probably will not establish any relations, because businessmen outside the Balkan peninsula simply do not like peasants' tricks.

At the same time the hands of the honest Bulgarian foreign merchant remain firmly tied—90 percent of his foreign currency profit is obligatorily purchased by the state. Countless restrictions, quotas, and banned goods (while production remains negligent) hinder export. There is no better negative stimulus for private or any other kind of initiative. However, the people know from the ancient past that where production and trade do not exist, there is no life.

At the same time Georgi Pirinski says: "Personally I could not do any more than Andrey Lukanov." Is this not the best indication that Mr. Pirinski could be the best future prime minister? He would be granted at least 180 days in which he would be able to find out that the people could not be squeezed any longer.

Lukanov Moves Seen as Bid To Improve Position

AU2208084190 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA
in Bulgarian 13 Aug 90 p 2

[Tsonyu Kornazhev article: "Move in Final Phase"]

[Text] One cannot deny the fact that Mr. Andrey Lukanov is one of the best chess players among those who call themselves Socialists. Thus, in the middle of the six-month game of his government, on the eve of the elections for the Grand National Assembly, he made several moves which led to winning specific points in favor of the party that "renews" itself. Those moves included several visits in Western capitals and Moscow, after which he made several promising declarations which were not supported by reality. This did not prevent his disintegrating party from losing positions in the game after the elections.

Now, at the final phase of the game, after the resignation of the Council of Ministers and before the election of the new prime minister, when his report was subjected to pitiless attacks on the part of the opposition at the Grand

National Assembly, Mr. Lukanov made a new serious move. After the defeat at the debate on his report he departed for Paris.

With this move Mr. Lukanov inadvertently contributed to the development of democratic processes in the world in two directions. First, for the first time in history a prime minister who has already submitted his resignation has then visited another country. Second, a precedent has been established according to which the bureau of the supreme legislating organ in a country, personified by its parliament, under the influence of a prime minister who has resigned, in an ad hoc manner has interrupted the debates on the prime minister's report in accordance with his request.

I assume that there are several deliberate factors in this move of Mr. Lukanov. One of them was to create the opportunity for decreasing the effect of the opposition's criticisms, as well as to afford some of his fellow party members the opportunity to prepare better their answers to the opposition, after their statements at the Grand National Assembly were postponed. In addition, Mr. Lukanov also afforded himself the opportunity to better prepare for the debate. Finally, Mr. Lukanov again could demonstrate activity on the eve of electing the new prime minister. It is well known that his party's Supreme Council has proposed his candidacy for this post, but then who knows....

The possibility exists that this move in the final phase of the game will bring Mr. Lukanov another point or two. However, it is absolutely clear that the chess players of the socialist chess school, whose graduate is Mr. Lukanov, are also losing positions in our country. Even those who, willingly or unwillingly, voted with red ballots in the Grand National Assembly elections understand this.

Assembly Procedures, Attitude Towards East Viewed
AU1608205390 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI
in Bulgarian 14 Aug 90 p 1

[Vasil Gadzhanov article: "It Is High Time for Us Not To Bend Our Knee Before Anyone"]

[Text] The parliament has been in session for several weeks. We know that a bucket can be lowered for weeks on end in an empty well. We know that the majority of deputies are learning how to practice parliamentarism. We are following their exercises on radio and television. Some of them amuse themselves by showing off their bad manners. Never mind—they do not wish to understand that parliament is a not a place for propaganda, and even less for poor quality propaganda. The National Assembly is a workplace, a place for high quality work for those who are capable of performing such work.

The parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) could reflect on a way out of this unpleasant situation. How can we convince the Assembly's chairman that he should resign? We only know that he

should do so. We will greet this step with a sigh of relief. The academician certainly possesses a great number of valuable talents, but he is not qualified for the task he was elected to perform—namely to chair the sessions of the Grand National Assembly. The sooner he makes up for this mistake, the better it will be. The whole country realizes that it was a mistake, so why should the BSP not realize this?

On the occasion of the debate on the duration of the military service in Bulgaria, a citizen and member of parliament with a foreign sounding name proposed that our country should join NATO. This will perhaps happen one day, but should we not remember that when Turkey invaded Cyprus and occupied a major part of the island, NATO did not move even a finger, despite the loud protests of Greece, regardless of the fact that both countries were NATO members? What about Iraq and Kuwait, which are both members of the Arab League? This did not prevent Iraq from quickly annexing a small and rich country. Now we have to wait and see how things will develop there. Hence, it is a bit early for our NATO membership.

The headline of a recently published article categorically declared: "Let Us Stop Paying Homage to the East!"—meaning the Soviet Union.

Well, let us then pay homage to the West. Did we not pay homage to this part of the world in our recent past, especially to Germany? We remember perfectly well the results of this attitude, namely of falling on our knees before other countries, generally speaking.

Is it not high time for us to attend to our own national pride, and to behave with dignity, despite our foreign debts, because no one is ready to adopt us with selfless generosity, just for our own sake? Is it not high time for us to stop dividing the world into good and bad, into black and white, because this is simply not true?

Finally, Bulgaria has the opportunity to stop shifting to and fro like a pendulum, from West to East, and from East to West. Military alliance and friendly relations with Russia are natural; they are an essential requirement for our country, and the same applies to our relations of rapprochement and overall cooperation with Western countries.

Last, but not least, Bulgaria has a historic chance of becoming a free and independent state, without committing itself to one single power, regardless of its greatness.

Our parliament is expected to resume its work next Tuesday [21 August]. We journalists are also expected to pursue our work. What do we expect from the National Assembly deputies? We expect them to build bridges, instead of dividing walls. Therefore, we tell them: Bridges cannot be built with party struggles and hatred. Our society needs bridges that it can cross—in overcoming the current difficulties and in proceeding toward its future.

National Bank Halts Purchases of Kuwaiti Dinars

*AU2108165990 Sofia BTA in English
1629 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—As of August 22, 1990, the Bulgarian National Bank suspends temporarily the purchase of Kuwaiti dinars until the situation of the currency of Kuwait becomes clear and until a possible new currency exchange rate of the lev to the Kuwaiti dinar is specified.

This step is taken as it has become known that after the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq the interbank monetary market in Kuwait is no longer functioning and that the Central Bank of Kuwait has stopped to announce the daily foreign currency prices of the dinar.

Farmworkers Demand Higher Prices for Produce

*AU2108184490 Sofia BTA in English
1717 GMT 21 Aug 90*

["Peasants Insist on a Rise in Purchase Prices and Warn They Will Declare Nation-Wide Strike"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—The Executive Committee of the Federation of the Independent Trade Unions of Agricultural Workers warned today that a nation-wide strike will be declared at the end of September this year if the purchase prices of agricultural products are not increased by that time.

According to the federation the prices should be increased to compensate the rise in the prices of farming equipment, spare parts, fuel, fertilizers and the chemicals used for treating the soil.

The federation insists that the president of the Republic should revoke all normative acts which hinder the development of agriculture and demands the adoption of the agrarian reform law before the autumn sowing.

Several days ago the government adopted a decree on paying extras added to the purchase prices of forage cereals. And yet the lack of forage still threatens the Bulgarian stock-breeding, as Mr. Todor Pandev, minister of agriculture, has recently stated in the Bulgarian parliament. The minister and other national representatives supported the demand for increasing the purchase prices of forage crops and for the import of the necessary forage additives.

Investigations of Zhivkov, Balev Completed

*AU2108154790 Sofia BTA in English
1505 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—The investigation of the cases of Todor Khristov Zhivkov and Milko Kalev Balev has been completed within the six-month term prescribed by law, the Prosecuting Magistracy announces. All evidence collected in 106 volumes has been presented to the accused and the counsels for the defence, who have one month to study them.

In view of the nature of the indictment, the volume of the material related to it and the factual and legal complexity of the cases, the counsels for the defence have applied for an extension of the fixed time limit by 30 days. The prosecutor general partially met their request and set a new time limit for the study of the materials—September 10, 1990, it is said in the announcement of the Prosecuting Magistracy.

Wife Says Balev 'Scapegoat'

*AU2108135990 Sofia BTA in English
1311 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—According to his wife, Milko Balev, Todor Zhivkov's right-hand man, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1982-1989 and head of Zhivkov's office for 30 years, has made the following statement: "I am the safety fuse that had to blow so that the electric mains be spared."

After Todor Zhivkov's ousting on November 10, 1989, Milko Balev has been under house arrest. He is under investigation.

Balev's wife, a retired architect, stated in an interview given to the "168 Hours" weekly that in the last four years he was removed from the office of the former secretary general and that it is other people who should be held responsible for the "mess" in the country, some of whom are now at the head of the Socialist, formerly Communist, Party.

"Then they began criticizing to remain at the top, so that people would think it was them who introduced democracy in Bulgaria," Mariya Baleva said about the high-ranking functionaries in the Bulgarian Communist Party who ousted Todor Zhivkov last autumn. "It is not the doing of two or three people, but a result of the overall situation in the world. The socialist system had to collapse. I can't agree that my husband is to be blamed for the creation of this system or its collapse. He rather prolonged its life with some of his acts," Mrs. Baleva said.

She stated that at the beginning of the eighties Milko Balev "won over for Bulgaria" the British magnate Robert Maxwell, who at the time published books by the leaders of the communist parties Honecker, Brezhnev, Kadar, Zhivkov.

"Today they are trying to outdo each other in flirting with Maxwell, but they forget who they are obliged to for this opportunity," Mariya Baleva said.

She stated that there were "violent political fights" in the Politburo of the then Communist Party after 1986. There were intrigues among the former guerillas of the Chavdar Brigade, in which Todor Zhivkov and many other people occupying high ranking posts in the party and the state in the last 35 years were enrolled at the time of the anti-Fascist struggle.

Milko Balev's wife accuses both former and present leaders of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party of enjoying much more privileges than her husband himself. She mentioned the names of the present national representatives in the Grand National Assembly: Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defence; Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party; Stanko Todorov, former chairman of the National Assembly; and some other officials who have retired on pensions: Georgi Atanasov, Pencho Kubadinski, former president Petur Mladenov, and Georgi Yordanov.

Mariya Baleva made especially sharp charges against Petur Mladenov and Premier Andrey Lukanov, who heads the government that gave in its resignation. She said they used to treat Milko Balev as if he were their elder brother, but after November 10, 1989, they let him "fall a prey to the people."

Asked what Balev expects from the future, his wife answered, "long years in prison. He knows he's been used as a scapegoat and he has become reconciled with it."

Mrs. Baleva stated her husband has no accounts with foreign banks, but has a bank deposit in Bulgaria amounting to 68 thousand leva. Her bank deposit is 30 thousand leva.

"My husband's most serious mistake was that he did not retire on time and that he was fanatically faithful to one idea and one man," she said in conclusion.

Commentary Condemns 'Suspensions' in Society

AU2008115390 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
14 Aug 90 p 1

[Kiril Stoychev commentary: "Suspensions Are Driving Us Crazy These Days!"]

[Text] Today, when Bulgarians need unity and national consensus more than ever before, we are suspicious of one another. Everyone, everywhere, suspects everyone else of everything.

The workers and peasants suspect the inhabitants of the tented Towns of Truth of living off others' labor. The intellectualized citizens suspect the inhabitants of their home villages of profiteering and corruption. Some of the members of parliament suspect the former government of a lack of political chastity and economic abuses of the nation's trust. Other members suspect those opposing the government's report of making party politics. The commercial "trippers" suspect the customs officers of venality, while the customs officers themselves suspect their bosses of taking bribes. Those without talent suspect gifted and capable people of careerism. The true careerists, for their part, suspect the political impartiality of nihilism.

Under political pluralism it is becoming increasingly difficult to state your own opinion, to suggest and implement a sensible idea. A person who has run ahead

of the masses in his thinking and actions will immediately be suspected of seeking personal profit by those following the stream. My colleague suspects me of wanting to take the high salary which he has been illegally granted. Our chief suspects that I am already measuring his chair. We suspect our Western partners of wanting to buy us for two cents, while they suspect us of permanent inability to pay and economic bankruptcy.

We find time for everything—for standing in lines for hours for expensive beer, for cheering at rallies, and watching highly priced sexual displays. The only thing for which we cannot find time seems to be mutual trust, in the name of the prosperous Bulgaria of tomorrow. We have no time for love, no time for honesty, no time even for patriotism. Suspensions are still driving us crazy these days, and they will continue to do so until the sun of the complete truth finally shines over Bulgaria.

Militia Independent TU Leader Outlines Policy

AU2208092290 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian
15 Aug 90 p 8

[Interview with Major Stanislav Vulchev, "chairman of the Independent Trade Union Organization of the Militia employees," by Stoyan Petkov; place and date not given: "Who Will Guard the Militia?"]

[Excerpts] [Petkov] Who are you and what are you struggling for?

[Vulchev] Recently I have been asked this question quite often. I always give the same answer: We are one of the organizations within the Federation of the Independent Trade Union Organizations of the Employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which generally struggles for the defense of the professional, social, and intellectual rights of its members. It is an independent and self-financed organization, comprising officers, sergeants, and other employees of our system—these working, those who have been fired, and retired employees. The only condition is that they accept our charter and that they are members of an association.

We are convinced that we must defend our rights and interests vis-a-vis the state, the public organizations, and the leaderships of all units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This means that we struggle against illegal orders and decisions and oppose illegal instructions and steps of officials of various ranks, both within and outside the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. When we establish such cases, we insistently pose questions to the competent organs and demand that those guilty be held responsible. We demand that we be guaranteed safe and healthy conditions labor conditions, and granted the right to improve our professional training and defend employees from unjustified and arbitrary firing. [passage omitted]

[Petkov] Does this mean that you will also strike?

[Vulchev] The Trade Union of the Militia employees in Bulgaria will always act only through legal means. Presently, we do not have the legal right to strike. However, this does not mean that we shall not utilize all known means of trade union struggle. Until now, nobody has banned our right to hold meetings and organize demonstrations. I admit that to date we have restrained ourselves. The militia employees understand that at a minimum, we should not intensify social tension. However, I declare that we do not exclude the use of the allowed forms of protest. A few days ago, the federation submitted a declaration to the Grand National Assembly in which we demanded that our rights be respected, precisely as we fulfill our obligations. I hope that it will not remain a voice in the wilderness.

[Petkov] People are saying that your organization is the legal form of political work in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Vulchev] Now many people are saying what they like. It is a pity that nobody has been asked to substantiate what he is saying. We called our organization "independent" not because this happens to be fashionable today. The sole condition of our independence is that we are not influenced by any political party or movement. We are unanimous in our belief that we can remain independent only if this condition is fulfilled. According to our charter in our leading organs—both the central ones and those of the associations and sections—there is no place for the former and present payroll members of the leaderships of political parties and associations and religious societies and movements. [passage omitted]

Zhelev Commutes Death Sentences; Cites Assembly

AU2108174490 Sofia BTA in English
1701 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—The president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, reprieved 11 people who were sentenced to death by substituting the capital punishment with 30 years imprisonment.

This decision is in line with the policy followed by the Grand National Assembly and with the worldwide humanitarian tendency to reduce capital punishments, it is said in the announcement made by the Office of the President.

Zhelev Receives 'American Free Congress' Group

AU2108184190 Sofia BTA in English
1749 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 21 Aug (BTA)—Today the president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, received a delegation of the American Free Congress Foundation headed by Senator Paul Warrick.

The guests were familiarized with the latest aspects of the changing political situation in the country. Attention was paid to Bulgaria's economic problems, too.

The U.S. politicians, most of whom are members of the Republican Party, promised to inform the Government

of the United States of these problems. They pointed out they expect Washington to render assistance for taking off the edge of some phenomena related to the transition to a market economy in Bulgaria.

Human Rights Discussed With U.S. Delegation

AU2208133990 Sofia BTA in English
1226 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 22 Aug (BTA)—The U.S. congressmen highly evaluated the processes of democratization in this country, stressing the peaceful way in which the dramatic changes are being brought about. Early this morning the representatives of the supreme legislative body of the United States, who arrived here last night, hurried to express before President Zhelyu Zhelev their hope for the country's rapidly overcoming its difficulties under his dynamic leadership. We hail the steps for dismantling totalitarianism and the democracy President Zhelev devoted his life to long ago, the guests told journalists after the meeting.

The leader of the delegation, Senator Dennis DeConcini of the U.S. Congress Helsinki Commission, and the people accompanying him showed understanding for Bulgaria's great economic difficulties and gave assurances that the Government and the Congress of the United States would be familiarized with them in view of rendering assistance.

Bulgaria's joining the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were also discussed along with the possibility of granting her a status of Most Favoured Nation.

The representative of the Department of Commerce of the United States, Mr. Fritz, announced that a letter with concrete views was sent to the Bulgarian Ministry of Finance.

In response to the interest shown by the guests in matters of human rights, President Zhelev explained the meaning of the draft laws on the depolitization of the police, the Army, the judiciary, the Prosecuting Magistracy and the diplomatic corps and of the bill amending the Election Law in anticipation of the forthcoming local authorities elections. We highly appreciate the president's efforts for transparency and his assurances that the secret police would not act as they did before, the American congressmen underlined.

Will the Bulgarians dive in "the cold water" gradually or at once? The president answered, "quickly, energetically and from top to toe."

Bashikarov, Turkish Trade Minister on Cooperation

AU2108205290 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] In Izmir today, Sukru Yurur, Turkish minister of industry and trade, declared that the Turkish Government wishes to establish balanced and stable relations with Bulgaria. Yurur met with Petur Bashikarov, Bulgarian minister

for foreign economic relations, who is visiting Izmir for the 59th international fair in this Aegean city.

In the declaration issued following the meeting, it is stated that Turkey is ready to provide all kinds of aid to help to solve Bulgaria's urgent economic problems and to meet the [words indistinct].

The declaration emphasized that Turkey does not want the position of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria to create any hindrances in the cooperation, or any problems between the two countries. We hope that the Bulgarian Government will speedily implement measures which at long last will allow us to drop this issue from our agenda.

The declaration adds that during the meeting Yurur told the Bulgarian minister that Turkey may provide technical aid and know-how to Bulgaria and help in modernizing various plants, and that both sides might be able to have wider cooperation in trade and economic matters.

Romanian Gypsies 'Fight With' Police in Ruse

*AU2108174590 Sofia BTA in English
1659 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Ruse, August 21 (BTA)—In the small hours today there was yet another incident in the central railway station of Ruse with about 300 Romanian tourists of gypsy origin.

At 0230 hrs. the customs officers on duty and the transport police put down from the international Pannonia express train the "tourists," who carried enormous quantities of goods they intended to sell in the black market. This measure was applied in compliance with the latest regulations issued by the government to prevent the spreading of cholera in Bulgaria. When it became clear that the officials would make them go back to Romania, many of the unwelcome guests got into a fight with the police. The officials managed to make them get on the international Pannonia express train going in the opposite direction via Romania to Poland, but the Romanians stopped the train using the emergency brake while the train was still in Ruse, got down and ran away in all directions.

BTA Runs Correction to Midyear Economic Figures

AU2108171390

Sofia BTA in Bulgarian at 1626 GMT on 21 July carries the following correction to the item headlined "Midyear Figures Show Inflation, Decreased Output," published in the 20 August East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 9:

Column two, fourth paragraph, make read: Goods amounting to 5,308.5 million currency leva were exported in the January-July 1990 period, which is 1,759.1 million currency leva less compared with the same period of 1989. [new paragraph] (supplying revised paragraph per BTA)

Havel Delivers 1968 Anniversary Speech

*LD2108154690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1256 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel to a rally to commemorate the anniversary of the August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia at Wenceslas Square in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed friends, I have just returned from the St. Wenceslas statue, where I laid flowers in memory of the victims of the Warsaw Pact troops invasion on 21 August 1968. I was there along with several brave Soviet citizens who had the courage, regardless of the drastic consequences which this would have for them, to protest at Red Square on 25 August 1968 against the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Our thanks is extended to these citizens. [applause] They saved, at least symbolically, the honor of the nations of the Soviet Union.

What did in fact happen 22 years ago? After the changes in the Communist Party leadership, when representatives of its reform wing took over leading positions and began to carry out certain partial reforms, our whole society gradually woke up. Hopes were awoken that in our country, after 20 years of communist totalitarianism, we would begin to build a more democratic, freer, and more just social system. These hopes were bitterly disappointed the night of 20-21 August, when the five armies of the Warsaw Pact, allied with several local plotters, [applause] invaded our country to cruelly suppress the process which had begun at that time and which was an expression of the awakening hopes of our nations.

Thanks to that aggression one of the most conservative communist regimes in the Soviet block was installed in our country and then took merciless revenge against all those who had been striving to revive our society. They did an enormous amount of damage, the extent of which we are only now in fact recognizing fully. Thanks to the violent suppression of the Prague Spring and the secret police regime [applause], which was subsequently installed in our country, even what neighboring countries were trying to achieve—albeit with numerous difficulties and obstacles—did not have any chance in this country.

Czechoslovakia became an island of silence, iniquity, consistent demoralization, and criminal exploitation of the future. Thus, we lost another 20 years of life.

Today we recall 21 August 1968 in a special atmosphere—in an atmosphere of general disquiet, general nervousness, and general dissatisfaction with the fact that breaking the old totalitarian structures is proceeding slowly. However, we held free elections in which an unusually high proportion of our population took part. We elected a free parliament, we have a free press, and we have a democratic government. But we still have not managed to make up for the burdensome heritage of the totalitarian system.

The powerful structures of the former regime, which were developing for many decades and first and foremost specifically in the past 22 years, still exist and are still active. Many communities continue to be ruled by the very same people who ruled them in the past. They are interlinked with the leading management of economic bodies. The huge bureaucratic colossuses which make it impossible for individual enterprises and plants to function in a rational way continue to exist. The old bureaucracy is surviving at all levels, right up to the central bodies and the republican and federal ministries.

The consequences of the 20 years we lost are tragic. It is a period when an entire generation grew up. Thanks to the totalitarian system, human creativity, the spirit of enterprise and invention, and the skills which were for years systematically suppressed by the previous regime, have vanished from our lands. Instead of hundreds and thousands of small shops and small factories, all we can find in our streets are pulled down blinds concealing the premises that are the subject of a living trade carried out by the mafias of mammoth-sized housing management enterprises [applause], which are skillfully using and abusing hundreds of draft regulations and directions which no one has yet abolished. [applause]

Our farmers, workers, and artisans are still regarded as being so incapable that they have to be subordinated to vast administrative apparatuses which allegedly manage them, but which in reality only complicate their life and work and which, moreover, let the farmers provide their livelihood. [applause, chants of "bravo"]

Our restaurants are not welcoming places of hospitality, cosiness, or friendly meetings, but dangerous jungles where our and foreign guests encounter unwillingness [applause] and slipshod work and where they are often even cheated. The reason for this is not that it is only the dishonest people who work in public catering. The reason for this situation in the restaurants is the fact that they are being managed by the bureaucrats in the senseless establishments such as the restaurants and public catering or interhotels [applause], whose main objective is not to satisfy the guests, but to ensure their own survival. [applause]

Hanging over our factories, agricultural combines, and all kinds of enterprises are whole clouds of unnecessary managerial offices and incompetent bureaucrats. [applause] Foreign trade enterprises are acting as parasites on the production sector, selling goods which the enterprises themselves could market better and more quickly. [applause] Concealed behind all this are the tentacles of invisible mafias trying to trade in property which does not belong to them. They set up suspicious joint stock companies and seek ways of safely laundering the illegally gained capital. [applause] The extremely dark Slusovice-type practices are surreptitiously spinning their web [applause] throughout our food industry. What I am saying is certainly nothing new to most of you. It is a state of affairs which is generally well known, and the voices calling for it to be remedied are being

heard from all sides. This confirms yet again that our revolution is not complete. On the contrary, the main effort is yet to come. [applause; cheering]

It is not true that this revolution has failed. It simply has not finished yet, and no work can be evaluated until it is complete. [applause] If we are to effect a remedy, we must begin without delay and act energetically. In our minds at least we must return to the November days for that spirit of unity and aspiration for change, for that civic courage and civic imagination which showed themselves at that time to be stronger than all the totalitarian structures. Today we should also recall the atmosphere of spontaneous unity with which Czechs and Slovaks, hand in hand, nonviolently resisted the violence 22 years ago. That week of defiance rightly won the admiration of the whole world. We must once again place the general interest above biased and individual interests.

Once again we must proceed in a nonviolent and tolerant manner but nonetheless resolutely and quickly as we succeeded in doing at the end of last year, when up to that time an all-powerful party gave up its leading role within a few days because of the will of the people. [applause] We must put pressure on the parliament to quickly pass good laws [applause] as well as pressure on the government not to be afraid to take courageous decisions. Finally, the process of privatization which will release creative and entrepreneurial energy in our society must be set in motion. The Labor Code must be amended to facilitate the flexible replacement of the nomenclatura, which is either incapable or is sabotaging our efforts. [applause]

However, it is not possible to rely solely on the parliament and the government, or on the president. All citizens must contribute to the common endeavor. In each village each enterprise must have the courage to take risks. They must use all legal and political possibilities which are at their disposal. After all, citizens today have an influence on who is at the head of a cooperative or an enterprise. They can draw attention to obsolete norms, decrees, and regulations and demand their cancellation and propose new ones. They can prepare themselves purposefully for the autumn elections of local government bodies and not allow representatives of the old structure to return under whatever disguise they may appear. [applause]

After all, in our country live a sufficient number of honest and clever people who are able to take up positions in village and municipal representative bodies. I appeal above all to the new generation not to be afraid to enter political life and take on political responsibility. Fresh winds should blow through our country.

If the reformists' argument that we have to proceed slowly, carefully, with restraint, inconspicuously in order not to anger and provoke our powerful neighbor had a certain amount of logic in 1968 then this argument is no longer valid today. [applause]

No one is threatening us today. Today the kind of country we live in depends solely on us. There is nothing and nobody

we can blame for anything any more. Those who are bothering and ruining us here, in our homeland, who are enriching themselves at the expense of others, who purposefully hamper changes and are tacitly evoking hopelessness and apathy so that they can continue to live in the style they were accustomed to and who are making silent mockery of the present democratic leadership should and must be dealt with by us. [applause]

After all, we did not meet in this square in November, in the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava and in many other squares, so that various totalitarian mafias could continue to uninterruptedly devastate our republic. [applause] The work we began then must be brought to a successful conclusion. Our local conspirators can no longer rely on powerful foreign armies. [applause] We can only blame ourselves if we let them outwit us even on this occasion. We have lost 20 years and we cannot afford to lose another single day. [applause, chants "Long live Havel!"]

Havel, Dubcek, Bonner Attend Invasion Anniversary
LD2108165290 Prague CTK in English 1344 GMT
21 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel laid a bouquet of flowers in Wenceslas Square here today as crowds of Prague citizens gathered to mark publicly for the first time the sad anniversary of the August 21 invasion of Czechoslovakia by five Warsaw Treaty armies 22 years ago.

Tribute to the victims of the invasion and the following years of totalitarian communist rule known as "normalization" was also paid by parliament President Alexander Dubcek, who was a symbol of reform in 1968. They were joined by Yelena Bonner and other Soviet activists who protested against the occupation of Czechoslovakia in Moscow 22 years ago.

The ceremony took place at the monument to St. Wenceslas, patron saint of the Czech nation, where many demonstrations had been held in the last few years and particularly in the first days of last November when they sparked public protests throughout the country.

Earlier today, Yelena Bonner, Larisa Bogorazova, Pavel Litvinov and other Soviet civil rights fighters who participated in the protest in Moscow on August 25, 1968, were received by President Havel at Prague Castle.

Dubcek Speech at Czechoslovak Radio Ceremony
LD2008154890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1200 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Speech by Federal Assembly Chairman Aleksandr Dubcek at ceremony in front of radio building in Prague—live]

[Text] Dear friends, we find ourselves at a place which is deeply engraved in the heart of every Czech and Slovak.

In August 1968 a struggle took place here for the future fate of our nations. On one side, there was the crude military power of foreign armies, prepared, in the case of military resistance, to destroy this beautiful city and this country and to shed blood. On the other side, there were hundreds of thousands of people, millions of people, convinced about their truth.

During those few days the strength of our people's moral awareness multiplied and was appreciated by the whole world. I deeply bow in front of them and their determination to defend their truth. I deeply bow in front of all those well-known, as well as unknown, employees of Czechoslovak Radio. Without them, without their devoted and purposeful work, the unified spirit of resistance, organizational spirit, and discipline would have been inconceivable.

I was aware then—and it was confirmed in a number of discussions I had today—that the aggressor was waiting for an open confrontation and the so-called, in parenthesis, evidence of the existence of counterrevolution. If our people had exceeded, by just one step, that limit of moral resistance and responsibility and inner discipline, a bloody tragedy would have taken place. Such a tragedy, however, was not totally avoided during those eventful days.

The days following the fateful August night testified to the moral strength of our people and unity of our nations, which impressed the entire world and surprised even the occupant. In the period prior to the August night of the 1968 revolutionary year, we attempted, during the short period of a few months, to understand the desires of the people of our two nations and to express these desires in political programs. To this day I am convinced that we have reached an understanding with an overwhelming majority of our people.

Nevertheless, a difficult 20 years stand between that August and the present. Only today, when new fresh political forces are attempting—after November 1989—to revive our society and economy from its moribund state, do we become aware of the depressing depth of the crisis and distortion of those 20 years. Now we are harvesting the bitter fruit of that period.

The Federal Assembly, president of the republic, national councils and governments, and all of us are facing an extremely difficult stage of the journey on which we embarked after November 1989. I fully support the earnest efforts by the federal, as well as national, governments to look for new avenues of economic progress and ways to solve mutual relations between Czechs and Slovaks.

Demagogy and national passions will not help us solve problems. I have opposed them several times; I now oppose them decisively. That is why I consider the extreme demand for the confederation and—even more, the demand for a separate Slovak state—to be something detrimental to the nation and our path toward integrating into Europe. [applause]

Let us recall, if only quickly, our history. Every time we Czechs and Slovaks found ourselves in difficulties, we sought to stand shoulder to shoulder. We always sought for solutions which bound us together. This was so in the difficult year of 1848.

Let us recall the years of the struggle for our republic, the first republic in 1918. We then stood shoulder to shoulder, side by side. Why? To create a united Czechoslovak state and our common homeland. [applause]

This was also the case when our republic was in danger after 1938, and 1939 when both our nations were separated by force. At that time we once again sought ways which would bind us together—ways to freedom, the restoration of common statehood, and the restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic.

It was not different in 1968 [applause], and thus, on this occasion we must not forget those historic days of the past. Not to retain them in our memory, but only in order to know for what our forefathers fought, in order to know what awaits us in the future, in order to realize that also in the period to come the two nations of ours will stand side by side for our united homeland, the federative republic. [applause]

In the future, I see the Czechs and Slovaks in Europe becoming unified in a common federative state of two equal and sovereign nations. At the time of prevailing integrational trends in Europe, we need mutual understanding and a concentrated effort of both our nations—all citizens—in order to enhance our common homeland. When we are facing a major problem in our nations' life, let us recall that, 22 years ago, it was precisely the unity of our people—the unity of our nations—that helped us to overcome difficult moments in our destiny.

The words that are inscribed on the commemorative plaque we are unveiling today—We are with you, be with us—also apply today. Let us unite all our efforts in the interest of our common homeland. [applause]

Poland Conveys Documents on Pact 1968 Invasion
LD2108141990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1330 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Documents relating to the entry of five Warsaw Pact states' troops into Czechoslovakia in August 1968 were conveyed to the CSFR Prosecutor General's Office today via the Polish Embassy in Prague. The documents have been made available by the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Republic. Work on analyzing the documents began immediately after they were received.

Dubcek Receives Soviet Demonstrators*LD2008192890 Prague CTK in English 1452 GMT
20 Aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 20 (CTK)—Chairman of the Federal Assembly (parliament) Alexander Dubcek received here today a group of five Soviet citizens who demonstrated in Moscow Red Square against the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The meeting was also attended by wife of Soviet scientist and human rights fighter Andrey Sakharov, Yelena Bonner.

They discussed the building of a Common European Home, issues of democracy and universal values.

Citizens Leave Baghdad for Amman*LD2108174690 Prague CTK in English 1535 GMT
21 Aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 21 (CTK)—After a successful transfer of a 98-member group from Kuwait to Baghdad, 74 persons continued on their way home to Czechoslovakia via Turkey today. The others decided to leave Baghdad for Amman the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry has announced.

Also prepared for a departure by the same route is a group of Czechoslovak citizens from Iraq, including 70 experts of the Strojexport foreign trade corporation and twelve family members of the Czechoslovak Embassy staff in Baghdad. The crisis staff of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry had decided to send a special plane of the Czechoslovak airlines to Amman. Its arrival in Prague is expected on August 24.

Two groups of Czechoslovak citizens, a total of 43 people, returned from Iraq via Amman route last week.

Slovak Premier Receives Cuban Envoy*LD2008194390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak
1500 GMT 20 Aug 90*

[Text] Frantisek Miklosko, Slovak National Council chairman, received in Bratislava today Mario Rodriguez Martinez, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Cuba to Czechoslovakia at the latter's request. The Cuban diplomat noted that the situation in his country has reached the brink of confrontation. The construction of socialism was not achieved without many errors.

It would be essential, however, that the world tolerate the development, history, and specific conditions of Cuba and its endeavor to remain a sovereign state. Frantisek Miklosko and Mario Martinez stressed the need to seek new paths of mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres.

Active Trade With Mexico Noted; Debts Paid*AU2108074590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 13 Aug 90 p 1*

[Marcela Doleckova report: "Aim—Managua and Ciudad de Mexico"]

[Excerpts] Today, Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, is departing for an official visit to Nicaragua and Mexico. With respect to the recent changes in the political climate in all of Latin America and in Czechoslovakia, this trip could open new political spheres. This could and should be closely followed by a development in the area of economy. It seems that this possibility is considered: The president's entourage includes Slavomir Stracar, federal minister of foreign trade. [passage omitted]

It is difficult to speculate whether Minister Stracar will manage to make arrangements for Nicaragua's payment of the rather substantial sum it owes Czechoslovakia.

The situation in relation to Mexico is different: Despite that country's large foreign debts, there are absolutely no outstanding debts on either side. At that, last year our exports to Mexico amounted to approximately \$24 million and our imports amounted to \$3.4 million. Exports were dominated by the traditional engineering collection complemented by costume jewelry, while imports consisted mostly of coffee, cotton, and textile goods. "We consider Mexico to be a respectable business partner," Engineer L. Kuchar from the Latin American section of the Ministry of Foreign Trade asserted. In response to the question, What one can expect from Minister Stracar's visit to Mexico? he stated briefly: "Sooner or later, Mexico must become a part of the same free market system as the United States of America or Canada are today." It seems, therefore, that, in the future, Mexico could also become a wide road to the North American continent for our country. In the more immediate future, one should not forget that Mexico is a big oil producer; that is important for our country in its present situation.

Of course, Latin America represents only a fraction of our foreign trade in comparison to European countries. Which great entrepreneur said, however, that no business is so small that it would not interest him?

CSFJ Accepted as FORATOM Member*AU2108083390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 14 Aug 90 p 2*

[CTK report: "The Czechoslovak Nuclear Forum a Member of FORATOM"]

[Text] Prague—The Czechoslovak Nuclear Forum [CSFJ] has been accepted as an associate member of the international organization FORATOM [European Atomic Forum].

Members of this international association are those organizations of 14 Western countries which focus on solutions to energy problems—above all, nuclear energy problems. The CSJF is the first representative of the Eastern and Central European countries in this organization. Our participation in the FORATOM enables our specialists to acquire the newest information about the research, development, safety, and practical applications in nuclear power technology. Despite the fact that organizations represented in FORATOM are, like the CSFJ, nongovernmental institutions, they have a significant influence on energy programs in individual countries.

One of the first Czechoslovak actions to be undertaken in this organization will be a seminar entitled "Nuclear Energy in Czechoslovakia," which will be held in cooperation with the British Nuclear Forum in London in September.

Listening Devices Dismantled at Austrian Embassy

*LD2008191990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1300 GMT 20 Aug 90*

[Text] The dismantling of listening devices began at the Austrian Embassy in Prague today. They were installed there by Czechoslovak secret police years ago. The buildings concerned are the embassy building, the ambassador's apartment, apartments of trade and military attaches, as well as a representative of the [word indistinct] company. These listening devices were discovered thanks to the information from Czechoslovak Government circles.

Slovak Premier Cited on Working Water Dam

*LD2108105790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0900 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] The Slovak Government will complete the construction of the Gabčíkovo water dam on its own if Hungary is unwilling to do so. This was said by the Slovak premier after he had viewed the construction. Vladimír Mečiar said that Czechoslovakia is awaiting the Hungarian decision and hopes that the disputed issues will be clarified during the visit by Foreign Minister Dienstbier to Budapest in a few days.

Mečiar believes that possible environmental damage should be examined only after the power station has started to operate. If the Gabčíkovo power station causes damage to the environment it will be stopped, the Slovak head of government said.

Pithart Evaluates Slovak Position on Federation

*LD2108152390 Prague CTK in English 1235 GMT
21 Aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 21 (CTK)—Czech Premier Petr Pithart told today's OBCANSKY DENIK, the Civil Forum daily, that the "resolve of the Slovak side as regards the transfer of powers was unambiguous".

Referring to the recent talks between representatives of the Czech, the Slovak and the federal governments in Trenčianske Teplice, West Slovakia, he stressed that in case the Slovak Government did not find understanding with the Czech Government, Czechoslovakia was threatened with disintegration into two states.

"Our discontent would mean a big risk. But we did not even intend not to agree because, disregarding the date, we were and still are of the same opinion on the transfer of powers", Petr Pithart said.

"Generally speaking, the federation suits us (the Czech and the Slovak Government)", the premier said. A difference might be in the question of speed. The Czech Government supposed the transfer to be completed within a year or earlier, he stated.

"I am convinced that this Slovak Government will not escalate demands", the Czech premier concluded, adding that it would lead to discussions on the existence of the federation.

Slovak Government Discusses Issues

*LD2108223290 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1630 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] As we have already reported, the Slovak Government met today in Bratislava. Among other things, it noted a federal government resolution dealing with the presence of foreign nationals who are refugees on Czechoslovak territory. It then returned to the matter of reworking the Federal Assembly's employment bill and to the Slovak National Council-sponsored bill on the jurisdiction of bodies in the Slovak Republic in implementing employment policy.

It took note of measures for the placement of graduates of secondary schools and universities and the need to increase the number of members of the National Security Corps [police] in light of the public security situation, and it agreed on the setting-up of a federal government commission for the European Communities and the functions of a commissioner for that community. The Slovak Government also discussed a number of cadre and organizational matters today.

Parties Advocate Postponing Local Elections

*AU2108150290 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech
18 Aug 90 p 1*

["(R)"-signed report: "Will the Elections Be Postponed?"]

[Text] Prague—A joint Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and Czechoslovak Socialist Party commission issued a statement on the draft law on the local elections and on the other so-called draft community laws. Among other things, the statement contains the following: After considering the government's proposals, the commission concluded that they in no way create a serious legal basis for the establishment of a self-governing system or for

holding local elections within the scheduled November timetable. These proposals should be the subject of the broadest possible public discussion, involving the active participation of all political parties and movements. With regard to experiences gained from the June elections, it is necessary to state that financial, material, and even personnel conditions have not been created for the successful preparation and holding of elections. After contemplating all these aspects, the commission recommends that the leaderships of their parties demand that the elections be postponed until next spring.

Proponents of Moravian Autonomy Form Alliance

*AU2108142190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
15 Aug 90 p 1*

["jh"-signed report: "Contesting the Elections Jointly"]

[Text] Brno—"Our aim is to assert the formation of the self-governing Moravian-Silesian Land [Zeme moravsko-slezska] as of 1 January next year. Because we have reservations about the law on communities and district offices and want to contest the November communal elections jointly, we have set up the Moravian-Silesian Democratic Bloc," Ales Kladivo from the Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia told us yesterday. In addition to this movement, this new alliance comprises, in Moravia, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Czechoslovak Social Democracy and, in Brno, also the Green Party. The newly set up Democratic Union of Health and Sports and the Party of Entrepreneurs [Strana podnikatelů] have also expressed interest [in joining the alliance]. The Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia also demands that the November elections be held in the historical boundaries of the [Moravian-Silesian] land, including the areas of Jevicko, Dacice, Svitavy, and the town of Moravska Trebova [which are now part of East Bohemia]. The movement is preparing its first congress. It will be held in Ostrava on 15 September.

Langos Appeals to Journalists To Use Discretion

*LD2008215790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1930 GMT 20 Aug 90*

[Text] Today Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos gave a statement to CTK, in which he reacts to the fact that some media sources have recently published material not intended for publication. He pointed out that he does not intend to make the activity of the ministry secret in any way. He added that the Interior Ministry must stop keeping problems secret which are, in many ways, and for many reasons, the object of the justified public interest. Despite this, it is not possible to publish absolutely everything. The presumption of innocence is one of the confines that prevent this.

For this reason, Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos appeals to journalists to deal with similar material, which reaches them in an unofficial manner, in a more considered way.

Federal Economic Council Discusses Key Reforms

*LD2108181990 Prague CTK in English 1424 GMT
21 Aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 21 (CTK)—The Economic Council of the Czechoslovak Government met here today for the first time in new composition to discuss key problems of the economic reform, such as privatization, support for the private sector, internal convertibility of the crown and deregulation of prices.

The meeting is chaired by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales. Also present are chairmen of the economic councils of the national republics' governments Frantisek Vlasak and Jozef Kucerak. The Economic Council is an advisory body of the government made up of a group of economic ministers, representatives of the republics' cabinets and president of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia.

The participants focused on recommendations of quick measures that would launch the privatization of small businesses and services before the adoption of relevant laws. The recommendations will be submitted to the governments in the first half of September, in harmony with the time-table of the economic reform and the program of the federal government.

Slovak Premier on Need for Expertise in Business

*AU2008074190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 13 Aug 90 pp 1,2*

["Excerpts" of speech by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar delivered on Slovak Television on 11 August: "Where There Are Competent People..."]

[Text] Talks between representatives of the Federal Republic, Czech Republic, and Slovak Republic Governments were held at Trencianske Teplice on Tuesday and Wednesday [7 and 8 August]. We looked for a place to be able to consult in peace on the fundamental problems concerning coexistence between Czechs and Slovaks in a common state for a long time, a place which would be secluded, where we would find some peace for work. You are well aware of the end results. The journalists have learned to work better. They discovered us, precisely because we wanted to keep the meeting a bit secret, which has given rise to new rumors and speculation.

During the talks, I received a short telegram from Spisska Nova Ves. It said: "Mr. Premier, do not give in!" I did not give in, but it was not simply a question of giving in or not giving in. More serious matters were at stake: How to arrange mutual relations. The future relations between Czechs and Slovaks were at stake, relations between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in a common state formation. We were

exploring the shapes of this formation and possible solutions. It goes without saying that everything we agreed upon were merely suggestions. Some of them are of such a fundamental nature, however, that they cannot be implemented without the support of political parties, the parliament, and the president personally.

(...) We said that we are in favor of a federation, but not a federation in its present state, and not a federation as it is understood at present. We want new, equal relations with the republics, transferring what is advantageous, necessary, and efficient from the republics' viewpoint to the federal bodies.

At the aforementioned meeting, we also had to deal with the external aspects of this process. There is no need to conceal the problems.

You know from the press, from other sources of information, and from your own experience that our entire industry and economy of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic are in a very difficult situation. You know that our exports and imports have been oriented overwhelmingly to the Soviet market and the markets of the other CEMA countries. We know that these countries are experiencing a deep crisis, which is intrinsic to the attempt to change economic systems. This deep crisis affects all processes; it does so gradually and over the long term. Countries with a less demanding, yet relatively stable market—such as the Soviet Union and other [CEMA] countries—are not in a position today to conclude agreements with us on deliveries and commitments in the volumes to which we have become accustomed. The sphere of state management in these countries is so disrupted that we are forced to move toward contacts at the level of the republics, or even at the level of companies. It seems as if agreements reached between companies will be more practical than those reached by the governments of the republics and the federal government....

(...) On the other hand, this difficult situation creates tremendous opportunity for capable individuals. For example, in Slovakia today we badly need some 3,000 top management experts in industrial, economic, commercial, and other organizations. Very soon we will need a large number of specialists in banking and the tax system. We need people with a high level of expertise of an international standard. We have not yet established functioning systems for training these people.

I have been visited by representatives of an organization which has set for itself the goal of training managers for Slovak companies. I naturally welcomed its plans. When they asked for considerable support from the premier, however, I turned down their offer. I cannot trust an organization which wants to train entrepreneurs, but is itself incapable of entrepreneurial activity—of obtaining resources through its own activity. This is why they have been given nothing. It is indisputable that the system of

education and training of specialists in Slovakia must change and intensify. Essentially, at present, no such system exists.

The implementation of fundamental personnel changes in enterprises is a complicated matter. So far, we have been unable to implement them. We do not benefit from people who are capable of implementing a modern personnel policy in enterprises. Unfortunately, we do not even benefit from teachers who could begin to formulate a theory of human resources and be able to train experts for this field. This, too, is an area where we are waiting for new quality and new offers.

It was said several times last week, in this context, that many company directors are beginning to entrench themselves; they are surrounding themselves with people who are close to them, paying no heed to expertise, but to personal loyalty. They regard the status quo in enterprises as permanent.

Esteemed directors who behave this way, you are terribly mistaken. You are terribly mistaken when you consider people expressing political discontent to be the primary obstacle in the development of companies. You are terribly mistaken when you try, albeit strictly in accordance with the letter of the law, to place them outside the company collective. You are terribly mistaken if you assume that a system of such personnel relations and guarantees within the company will help you save your jobs. Your calculations will not be profitable. The only thing that can save your job is a good job performance. To achieve this, you will have to proceed differently. Anyone who thinks that the government has other things to worry about and will forget about these matters is terribly mistaken. Even those who assume that political parties and movements will be unable to politically defend their members, who are exposed to certain acts of repression, are mistaken. These acts of repression concern both sides—those who carried out the revolution as well as those who are sometimes being referred to, incorrectly, as old structures—without regard for their expertise, competence, and their endeavor to help the common cause.

Indeed, new times bring new problems. But they also create new opportunities for the self-realization of competent people.

Trade Unions Policy Statement in Preparation

AU2108142790

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 August on pages 1 and 5 publishes a 1,400-word interview with Richard Falbr, vice president of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions, by Vitezslav Havlicek, RUDE PRAVO correspondent, entitled "Trade Unions Want To Be a Step Ahead." The place and date of the interview are not given. The RUDE PRAVO introduction states that the operation of the confederation was subject to an extensive criticism at the last session of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of

Trade Unions (CSKOS) General Council. The dearth of a general policy of the Czechoslovak trade unions even half a year after the all-union congress was one of the most frequently voiced reproaches. "A commission was therefore constituted to prepare an appropriate proposal. Richard Falbr, vice president of the CSKOS, became its chairman."

Falbr is interviewed about the policy. According to him, the policies of the individual trade unions cannot be used, and instead the unions have been asked to contribute their ideas. The actual work on the document should still be in August. Asked about the policy statement, Falbr says: "We must be very specific in expressing our demands regarding the employment developments and the creation of new jobs. That is then related to reducing the hours of work, extending vacations, and securing work for youth." Very important, according to Falbr is the workers' input in the preparation of the bill on the collective negotiation. He continues by saying that the social demands must be realistic, and the trade unionist must participate in the administration of social security funds, health care insurance, etc. The trade unions should comment on the bills before they are submitted to the government because, as Falbr says, unfortunately, they were not enterprising enough to formulate their demands before the bills were drafted. According to him, the former trade union organization did not support initiative and, as a result, there are no experienced trade union officials and entrepreneurship is lacking in the organization.

This led the interviewer to asking about the appeal by the Prague Municipal Coordinating Center of Civic Forum to dismiss all who held a post under the former regime without any regard for their party affiliation or expertise. Falbr believes in limiting the termination to those who lack in skills or trust.

Returning to the topic of the policy statement, Falbr promises that it will also deal with holidays and recreation, but so far he does not know any details. The last inquiry concerned the reports of inadequate leadership causing the lapses in the work of the confederation, and Falbr declined to comment before dealing with the topic in the General Council.

Slovak Economic Data for First Half of 1990

*AU2108121390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Slovak 14 Aug 90 pp 1, 2*

["Slovak Statistical Office, chk"-signed report: "Decline of Economic Performance"]

[Text] In the first half of 1990, the first steps were taken in the socioeconomic development of the Slovak Republic in the transition toward a market economy. The enterprise sphere did not sufficiently adapt to the new requirements, resulting from the marked restriction of the elements of command management. The impact

of problems stemming from the development of relations with CEMA economies was also unfavorable.

From the viewpoint of securing the needs of the population, one of the most serious problems was the imbalance on the domestic market. It was influenced, above all, by the four percent increase in nominal cash earnings, compared with the same period a year ago, as well as by the lifting of some restrictions on foreign tourism. The markedly consumption-oriented conduct of the population is reflected in its expenditures, which increased seven percent compared with the first half of 1989. The savings rate declined.

The growth in the cost of living of the population and, by the same token, the growth rate of its expenditures were influenced by the 3.9 percent increase in the level of retail prices, compared with the first half of 1989. The prices of services also increased. The real average wages of employees in the state and cooperative sector dropped one percent. The cost of living increased 3.8 percent on aggregate.

Among the new phenomena [of economic development] is the fact that, within the framework of structural changes in employment, not all employees who have been dismissed are finding new employment. Of the 9,467 job applicants registered by national committees, 3,642 persons obtained a new job by the end of June, while 6,325 persons were still unemployed [figures as published]. In addition, almost 2,000 university and secondary school graduates were searching for a job. The number of employees in the state and cooperative sector (without united agricultural cooperatives) decreased by 27,000, compared with the first half of 1989. The capacity of health and social care facilities was partially increased by means of structural changes [reprofilizace]. The number of physicians slightly increased while the number of places in creches decreased. The situation in health care at large deteriorated, however, because of a significant decrease in the number of nurses and hospital workers.

The number of persons receiving a pension increased. The real level of old age pensions declined. Problems with the completion of apartments intensified. The number of completed apartments fell almost 50 percent short of the figure for the equivalent period of 1989. The overwhelming majority of completed apartments was built privately. A total of 7,800 apartments were completed in Slovakia by the end of June, 5,800 fewer than in the same period of the preceding year.

The equilibrium of economic development was adversely affected by the declining generation of material resources and their use. The volume of gross industrial output was by 3.6 percent lower than in the same period of 1989. Besides the intentional cutbacks in some industrial branches, this decrease was caused chiefly by the reduction in the output of the chemical industry and of the federally controlled engineering sector. Output increased, compared with the first half of 1989, in the

production of medical supplies as well as in the glass, printing, textile, and food industries. The generally lower volume of industrial production found its reflection also in its lower final use, particularly in the diminished supplies for export to countries with inconvertible currencies. The total volume of gross industrial output in the centrally administered industry reached 128.9 billion korunas in the first half of the year and was 3.6 percent lower than in the same period of 1989. Labor productivity per employee calculated on the basis of gross output dropped by 2,475 korunas (1.4 percent), to 173,645 korunas, while average monthly wages increased by 72 korunas (2.3 percent), to 3,250 korunas.

The influence of the applied technical progress, too, was unsatisfactory. This is also demonstrated by the continuing generally small proportion of new products and of products with the highest quality ratings. The performance of building organizations and enterprises declined more perceptibly than performance in industry. The volume of basic construction work declined by 6.4 percent, compared with the first half of 1989. This decline was due mainly to the lower volume of work at large-scale construction projects and in comprehensive housing construction.

This year's agricultural output will be influenced by the fact that, although the total area under cultivation increased compared with last year, the area sown with grain crops, sugar beets, potatoes, and perennial feed crops declined. Regarding animal husbandry, pig and sheep herds declined. Livestock yields deteriorated, with the exception of the number of eggs laid per hen. The overproduction of cattle for slaughter has become a problem.

A negative aspect of the decline in the production volume in most branches of material production is the unfavorable ratio between labor productivity and average wages. Another negative aspect is the drop in employment in general engineering, in the leather-working and footwear industry, in the wood-processing and textile industries, in the construction materials industry, as well as in some enterprises of the building industry, industries that ought to develop in the new structure.

Imports by foreign trade organizations with seats in Slovakia were higher than exports. While trade exchange with countries with nonconvertible currencies significantly declined, imports from states with convertible currencies increased.

The generation and use of the state budget in the first six months of the year were unbalanced. The state budget ended the first half of the year with a deficit—the revenues fell short of the expenditures. This was influenced also by the delayed settlement of the turnover tax. The amount of credits taken for developing the economy was 4.2 billion korunas higher than in the first six months of 1989. Operation credits increased. The credit burden of both enterprises and the population has been growing since the beginning of the year. The ability of enterprises to pay their bills, too, deteriorated in the period in question, yet,

essentially, the level of insolvency remained at last year's level. The aforesaid development found its overall reflection in the generation of national income, which, according to preliminary estimates, declined by two percent in steady prices, compared with the first half of 1989. The greatest shortfalls occurred in industry, freight transport, and the construction sector.

A total of 160 enterprises showed interest in foreign companies taking a stake in their capital. Their own estimates of needed investment credits represent a total of 1.4 billion U.S. dollars. Their needs for operation credits and credits in the trade sphere are estimated at more than 300 million U.S. dollars.

The process of demonopolization is characterized by an increase in the number of enterprises. The number of enterprises operating in industry increased from 223 to 420 (by 88.3 percent), in agriculture from 1,297 to 1,330 (2.5 percent increase), in the building industry from 85 to 106 (24.7 percent increase), and in retailing from 118 to 150 (27.1 percent increase).

The report of the Slovak Statistical Office states that the trends in the development of the Slovak Republic's economy demonstrate the need for a more comprehensive approach to the solution of problems.

Klaus on Black Market, Exchange Rates

*AU2108141990 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
15 Aug 90 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Federal Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus by Karel Hvizdala; place and date not given: "Setting Right Prices Is the Only Way"]

[Text] [Hvizdala] Mr. Minister, recently I read several times that the exchange rates are fixed by the government, although—as far as I remember—you have always been an advocate of the opposite policy. Well, are you in favor of the exchange rate being determined by the government or by the market?

[Klaus] The premise of my response is that the exchange rate is the price of one currency in another currency and, as such, as any other price, it is determined by the market, whether we want it or not. We can erroneously set the exchange rate from the center; the exchange rate is, in that case, at odds with the market, and this always creates a negative economic impact.

[Hvizdala] But that is exactly the situation in which we find ourselves right now. Or am I wrong?

[Klaus] In the past, the exchange rate of our currency was absolutely inconsistent with the market situation. This resulted in the emergence of a very extensive black market, the significance of which has been even enhanced by the removal of barbed wire from the borders and by our opening to the world. We were totally unprepared for this situation because our prices, dictated centrally for 40 years, were completely at odds with

prices in the rest of the world. We had four alternatives: Either to very quickly adapt our price structures to world price structures; to convince the rest of the world to adjust their price structures so that they match our structures; the third alternative was to surround the country with barbed wire again; and the fourth alternative was to adjust, more or less, to the black market. In the end, we opted for a solution close to the fourth alternative. Our tourist exchange rate moved in the direction of the black market rate, without quite reaching it. This was because, on the one hand, the devaluation of the koruna seemed to be unacceptable to some politicians and economists (which was absolutely wrong economic thinking!!!) and, on the other, because we originally assumed a much more rapid progress of economic reforms, including the setting right of our completely erroneous price structures.

[Hvizdala] When will this situation change, in your opinion?

[Klaus] Everything has its roots in our erroneous price structure, and setting right both retail and wholesale prices is therefore the only way. This process is starting this year already with central price adjustments, and it will continue with the liberalization of prices at the beginning of 1991. This will gradually lead to a situation in which our price ratio will move closer to price ratios in the world and the exchange rate will, to a greater extent than is the case now, reflect the actual correlation between the purchasing power of individual currencies. Under the existing—that is, wholly erroneous—price structure, the exchange rate was determined, in fact, by the last price which still made sense under this rate of exchange.

[Hvizdala] Does this mean that illegal currency dealers should eventually disappear from our streets?

[Klaus] If we succeed in implementing the prepared reform steps according to the program already approved by the federal government, I am convinced that a decisive blow will be delivered to the black market.

[Hvizdala] The State Bank estimates that some 180 million U.S. dollars went through the black market in Czechoslovakia last year. Does this black market have any negative impact on our economy?

[Klaus] The only loss we incur is in the form of lost taxes. A black market of any type entails only a fiscal loss. Any market—be it black, gray, or white—meets consumers' needs. If the consumer does not want to participate in the black market, he does not have to. No one forces him to do it. The fact that he does participate in it means that it is advantageous for him in one way or another. Any criticism of the black market, including criticism from this point of view, is therefore absolutely out of place. The public should criticize the inadequate activity of the legal and repressive apparatus. At the same time, however, it should own up to its own share of responsibility [for the existence of the black market], consisting in its participation in the black market. After all, the price is

never determined by the black market dealer. The price at any market is determined by the ratio between supply and demand.

Klaus Denies Gasoline Price Increase

AU2108145290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 16 Aug 90 p 1

["(MS)"-signed report: "Gasoline Prices Will Not Be Increased"]

[Text] Following the recent increase in gasoline prices, the supply situation at gas stations has stabilized, demand has fallen, and the Slovnaft Bratislava hydrocracking unit is operating smoothly. Despite this, long lines have again been forming at gas stations since the beginning of this week. We asked Vaclav Klaus, federal finance minister, whether the motorists' fears that the price of gasoline will increase are justified. According to the minister: "I have not heard that gasoline prices will be increased; I have not even discussed this issue anywhere. As far as I know, no one in the government has discussed this. I think this is just another one of those buying panics that complicate our situation and alarm us all." Premier Calfa made the following comment: "Increasing fuel prices has also had an ecological effect; because unnecessary traffic has been reduced on the highways, the air in Prague is already much better."

CKD Enterprise To Become Joint Stock Company

AU2108104790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 15 Aug 90 p 4

["(chk)"-signed report: "CKD Becomes a Joint Stock Company"]

[Text] Prague—As of 1 September, the CKD state enterprise will become a joint stock company with state participation. One month later, the organization will transform itself into a holding joint stock company. The present CKD plants will become offspring joint stock companies. The CKD Semiconductors Works, Diesel Engines—Kutna Hora, Slavia—Napajedla, and the Diesel Engines plant in Prague-Kosire will become independent at the same time as the other plants.

Miroslav Gregr, Czech minister of engineering and the electrotechnical industry, commented on this development: "The privatization process has different conditions in engineering than in any other area. Specifically, there is a difference between a small enterprise and a giant enterprise with 40,000 employees with a brand name known throughout the world. We have agreed on the gradual steps. During the first stage, we will transform CKD into a state joint-stock company and concurrently reduce its basic capital by the company's financial obligations. The most important step, however, will be the formation of a holding joint-stock company, in the framework of which every offspring joint stock company (former plant) will gain the maximum amount of space for enterprise as well as for responsibility."

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Soviet Forces Begin Withdrawal From Neuruppin LD2208103890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0959 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Neuruppin (ADN)—Soviet troops began their withdrawal from Neuruppin on Wednesday [22 August] with the loading of heavy equipment. The first train will begin leaving Wednesday evening for the Soviet Union and not this weekend as originally planned.

According to the kreis administrative authority, the whole tank division is to leave the garrison town by the end of this year. There appear to be problems, however, in connection with the availability of wagons and containers, which could lead to delays.

Soviet Air Force personnel will withdraw in the spring of 1991 and will clear the airport. Support services will be the last to go. The withdrawal from Neuruppin is connected with Soviet disarmament measures.

So far no information is available about the date of the complete withdrawal of the Western contingent of Soviet Armed Forces from this region. There are also only estimates about the strength of the troops deployed, ranging from between 25,000 to 50,000 soldiers.

PLO Officer Training Cessation Upheld

LD2208103790 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1010 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ban on training future PLO officers in the NVA [National People's Army] is to be maintained. This was agreed yesterday by the Ministry of Disarmament and Defense and the PLO Embassy in the GDR, the ministry announced today. Thus, the Palestinian officer cadets currently in the GDR will not complete their training and will leave the country in early September. Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann announced at a news conference on 19 August the temporary suspension of the training of PLO members.

Files on 'La Belle' Attack Reportedly Withheld

AU2208100790 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Aug 90 p 6

["Rt"]-signed report: "East Berlin Withholds Important Files"

[Text] In the view of Berlin Internal Affairs Senator

Paetzold (Social Democratic Party of Germany), the GDR Central Criminal Investigations Office (ZKA), which is subordinate to GDR Interior Minister Diestel (Christian Democratic Union of Germany), is obviously not interested in quickly and comprehensively clearing up the bomb attack on the "La Belle" discotheque together with the West Berlin police.

On Tuesday [21 August] Paetzold said that important files of the former GDR State Security Service [Stasi] on the discotheque attack in April 1986—files which are of considerable importance for the course of the investigations—have been withheld for weeks from the investigators of the West Berlin Police State Protection Service. According to the Council of Ministers decision, the East Berlin Prosecutor General's Office is not the "investigating organ." Only the ZKA is authorized to decide on "operational files," the West Berlin police officials were told. The ZKA refuses, however, to hand over such files in order to "protect the sources."

In the view of the West Berlin investigators, there can be only two reasons for this: "Either the existing material on 'La Belle' and on Libyan terrorism incriminates individuals of the former State Security Service who have other posts today, or the ZKA is pursuing a hardly understandable course of self-justification with the goal of continuing to exist as an independent body after unification."

During their cooperation with other East Berlin police offices, the West Berlin criminal investigations officials were repeatedly told that employees today working in the ZKA came "from areas of the former Stasi and the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Security Service," and were taken over after the "change" and promoted to key positions. Thus, Buchecker, head of the ZKA State Protection Service, who is responsible for the "Lux" file (cover name for the "La Belle" case), was the man responsible for security at the SED Central Committee. ZKA Chief Wittig was a member of the SED kreis leadership in the GDR Interior Ministry.

Concerning the role of the GDR interior minister in the matter, it is said that Diestel has to accept being asked "whether he is willing to do everything to clear up crimes in which the former SED leaders or Stasi members could be involved, or whether he will continue to permit old comrades and Stasi groups to work in his ministry as they like." If the remaining files are not handed over to the West Berlin police very quickly, it is to be feared that those responsible for the bomb attack on "La Belle" cannot be put on trial for lack of evidence.

Foreign Minister on 'Flexible' Policy in Gulf

LD2108164290 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] The Hungarians evacuated from Kuwait and Iraq have arrived home. Altogether, 170 people have come back on two aircraft. Twenty-two Hungarian diplomats have remained in Iraq, and five Hungarian diplomats remained in Kuwait, in order to maintain diplomatic representation. Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told members of the Hungarian colony who arrived home that the life of every one of its citizens is important for the Republic of Hungary. He rejected accusations that the Hungarian Government has not done its utmost for those stranded abroad. He said that, because most of them have returned home, Hungarian diplomacy can become more flexible in Gulf affairs. Because there is no state of war in Iraq, the Iraqi position that valid employment contracts must be fulfilled can be accepted in the case of workers there. Regarding the Hungarian soldiers serving on the Iraq-Iran border, Geza Jeszenszky said that they belong under UN jurisdiction; therefore, the current crisis does not affect them.

Minister Bela Kadar on CEMA Status

AU2108150190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 16 Aug 90 p 8

[Interview with Bela Kadar, minister for international economic relations, by Maria Lakatos; place and date not given: "CEMA Farewell! Summit in Budapest This Autumn—Bela Kadar Thinks the Crisis Will Last"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] If we are still able to organize the conference of East European heads of state this year, (once referred to as the CEMA summit,) then it will probably be for the last time; this conference is expected to announce the demise, or radical reorganization, of CEMA. As for the "ex"-member states of CEMA, they will have to follow the noble traditions of bilateral trade and try to climb onto the accelerating bandwagon of a united Europe by competing against each other rather than joining together. So far, Hungary stands a fair chance of occupying one of the seats in the last car of this train, and, according to some EEC statements, it may have to share this seat with Poland and Czechoslovakia. We asked Bela Kadar about Hungary's place in this restructured Europe.

[Lakatos] Until recently, CEMA played an excessive role in Hungarian foreign trade relations. The importance of CEMA, however, has dropped so sharply that the organization can hardly be considered such a viable trading partner anymore.

[Kadar] A rapid restructuring is taking place. During the last four decades, Eastern European cooperation determined not only foreign trade relations, but the whole structure of the Hungarian economy, also; this form of

cooperation is now losing its importance. CEMA's determining importance, however, has been dwindling for some time. In 1960, it accounted for almost 70 percent of Hungary's foreign trade, but by the beginning of the 1980's, its share had dropped to 53 percent. In 1988, CEMA trade only represented 47 percent, in 1989 it was 42 percent, and according to present statistics, CEMA's share may fall to 30 percent by the end of 1990. In other words, this will represent a fundamental change: By the end of 1990, the amount of trade conducted with CEMA states will be less than the amount of trade conducted with West Europe. [passage omitted]

By the end of the year, Germany will be our most important trade partner. Next year, when we convert into dollar accounts for our Eastern trade, the proportions will change once again. We are presently unable, however, to calculate exact percentages. [passage omitted]

The general crisis in Eastern Europe is growing, and the drop in foreign trade relations is another indication of this phenomenon. We should not expect any large-scale help from abroad, because Western European governments are not in a position to invest huge sums of money in order to support our region. They would rather help individual countries in the field of environmental protection, in the facilitation of their restructuring efforts, and in the area of human relations. Meanwhile, private investors are wary of placing capital in most Eastern and Central European countries, because they deem the situation too hazardous.

[Lakatos] Perhaps the time has come for real cooperation in Eastern Europe, on the ruins of CEMA? [passage omitted]

[Kadar] The Hungarian point of view is that the former CEMA structure cannot be maintained; it is impossible to coordinate countries which have reached different stages in the market economy, countries that show varying levels of development. So, for the foreseeable future, cooperation in Eastern and Central Europe will be based on bilateral trade. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] It seems that Hungary will have to face up to the fact that, even in the long term, the amount of its foreign trade will drop, due to the loss of its traditional markets.

[Kadar] The Eastern European crisis looks as though it is going to last. This year we have already lost the equivalent of \$1.5 billion worth of "socialist" exports, and the increase in exports accounted in convertible currency covered 60 percent of this amount. Naturally, 1991 holds further unpleasant surprises for us. The drop in foreign trade deepens the recession, and it may push unemployment figures up considerably in the next few months.

Minister Holds Talks with Austrian Counterpart

LD2108133590 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Interior Minister Balazs Horvath held talks with his Austrian counterpart in Sopron on issues of border surveillance and refugee affairs. According to the Interior Ministry communique, the ministers have come to an agreement to coordinate their actions.

Goncz Attends CSFR Reception in Budapest

LD2108223190 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT
21 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 21 (MTI)—The Budapest embassy of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic gave a reception on Tuesday. The reception was attended by Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, Geza Jeszenszky, foreign minister, Tamas Katona, state secretary of foreign affairs, and several representatives of the Federation of Young Democrats.

Ambassador Rudolf Chmel expressed thanks to the young Hungarians who had given voice to their solidarity with the democratic Czech and Slovak forces in Wenceslas Square, Prague last August.

President Goncz expressed his gratitude to the young Hungarians who apologized, on behalf of the Hungarian people, for Hungary's participation in the 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia. The president emphasized that the problems of the Czech, Slovak and Hungarian people should be solved with a common effort.

Keleti Announces Cut in Military Service

LD2108182390 Budapest MTI in English 1432 GMT
21 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 21 (MTI)—UN authorities have prepared an evacuation plan aimed to help the escape of the group monitoring the Iraqi-Iranian truce, should the war situation call for such a move, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, Defence Ministry spokesman, announced in Budapest on August 21. It should also be remembered that 15 Hungarian soldiers are in the service of the UN in Iraqi territory.

The spokesman said an amendment to the defence law on reducing compulsory military service to 12 months was to be discussed by the National Assembly in the near future. 'This means that a twice six-month training schedule will be adopted, and consequently, about 30,000 young people will be conscripted on August 29 and 30,' he said. (The demobilisation of 22,400 conscripts is currently under way.)

Conscription will not involve young people with two children or those in difficult social circumstances, people who have not succeeded in completing their primary education, or those who are only partially fit for military service for health reasons.

The 12-month period of compulsory service also means that together with time of those on standby, service time will be cut to 22 months. In future, people who have already served 22 months will not be conscripted for standby service.

Spokesman Keleti also said that in the course of the last year, altogether 892 people applied for alternative military service. While 363 of them were granted their request, 228 applications were refused and decision on 301 is still pending.

Officials Speak at St. Stephen's Day Celebration

Goncz Delivers 'Festive Speech'

LD2008152990 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Gyula Polgar report on speech by President Arpad Goncz at St. Stephen's Day celebrations in Opusztaszer; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At 1000 [0800 GMT] the government's helicopter landed in Memorial Park with President Arpad Goncz and Matyas Szuros [deputy speaker of the national Assembly] on board. The huge crowd made a living corridor to the festive podium for the passage of Arpad Goncz, who, departing from the scheduled program, began his festive speech 10 minutes early.

[Begin Goncz recording] A king, even the best of kings, has only subjects. A republic, an [?associated] community of free people, has only citizens, who answer as one for the country's cause; citizens who are aware of their rights—their civic and human rights—who bravely take into their hands the management of their own destiny, who freely elect their representatives to parliament and make them render an account of their work there. These citizens supervise the function of the country's government, and [?manage] the affairs of their communities with ceaseless attention. They elect those who manage their affairs; they determine how to most efficiently use the taxes paid to the community by the citizens—as a fruit of their labor—from their legal earnings; they are concerned with serving the community's interests with regard to timely use of these finances; and they never, for a moment, forget that it is public administration who must serve them and not they [who must serve] the civil servants. It is not only their right, but also their duty, to remove from office those who poorly serve the community. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Antall Speaks of Political, Economic Scene

LD2008205690 Budapest MTI in English 1706 GMT
20 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 20 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall delivered a speech before thousands of people who assembled for the St. Stephen's Day celebration at the main square of Szombathely at Monday noon.

Speaking about the country's economic and political position and the tasks ahead, the prime minister pointed out, the repercussions of the economic collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are pressing Hungary with increasing weight. They cannot take over our commodities, fail to fulfill contracts, and so on.

The former possessors of power, Antall said, should come to realize that after leaving behind disastrous conditions, they have to disappear from the scene, and it will be better for them to take this step voluntarily. However, it is natural that those who sinned against the country also have a part in building it up.

Statistical Office Head on Activity, Tasks

AU2108113990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 15 Aug 90 p 9

[Report on interview with Gyorgy Vukovits, head of the Central Statistical Office, by Miklos Z. Hajduska; place and date not given: "All Information Is Available"]

[Excerpts] Ever since the spring elections, parliamentary deputies, party officials, and various other officials have been complaining about a lack of information—a lack of precise information. Our correspondent interviewed Gyorgy Vukovits, the most competent person in this matter, who was recently appointed as head of the Central Statistical Office.

[Vukovits] The Central Statistical Office is the only institution that provides a comprehensive picture of Hungary's social and economic situation and also analyzes the individual economic branches and the population; however, the Statistical Office cannot deal with every detail. This is not its task. Individual ministries provide detailed statistics about themselves. I also hear people saying that there is a lack of proper information, but no one has expressly stated what we are lacking. [passage omitted]

[Hajduska] There are problems in gathering conventional information; for example, in monitoring our industrial production and economic growth. This is due to the fact that the enterprises' obligation to report their progress has ceased.

[Vukovits] The main problem is that, in the past, we provided statistics about a few thousand state enterprises and cooperatives. Our information about the new ventures is extremely inadequate; we do not even know the names of all these new ventures. We are trying now to "deal" with the small ventures which, hopefully, will play a considerable role in the future. Our current data reflect the sphere of large-scale enterprises.

[Hajduska] If I am not mistaken, you do not gather information about ventures consisting of fewer than 50 people. Thus, for example, examining our industrial production, it is shown that large-scale enterprises are stagnating or losing ground. Meanwhile, we do not know what is happening in the other sphere, which should be accelerated.

[Vukovits] We do, however, have estimates. Their activity is increasing, but their weight is not yet considerable in our overall industrial production. This statistical method, however, will no longer be adequate next year, because this would give a distorted picture. [passage omitted]

[Hajduska] What are your ideas on reorganization? Although you have just been appointed as head of the Central Statistical Office, I presume you have some plans of your own because you have been working here for a long time.

[Vukovits] I have been working here for "only" 35 years. As for the organization of our office, we must make it rational. We can fulfill even increased tasks through a more efficient use of our available intellectual capacity, even with a reduction in personnel. We will reexamine our entire system of information-gathering. We must determine the areas (economy, investments, capital flow, economic policy, science) where progress is inevitable. We want to eliminate all parallelism. We must also examine the future place and role of the Central Statistical Office. A new draft bill on statistics is currently under preparation and we hope to submit it to Parliament around mid-1991. This law will determine the location, hierarchy, tasks, and means of our office. The current law—valid since 1973—has become obsolete. We would like the National Assembly to adopt the law on the entire statistical system along with the state budget. [passage omitted]

Evacuation of Poles From Kuwait, Iraq Continues

*LD2108182690 Warsaw PAP in English 1709 GMT
21 Aug 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—A group of 290 Poles returning from contracts in Iraq crossed the Iraqi-Jordanian border after only 40 minutes of customs checks. After arriving in Amman they will board two Polish planes for Warsaw where they are expected past midnight on August 22.

Another group of Poles who left Kuwait reached the locality of Ramadi near Baghdad. It numbers 152 people and not 250 as was reported earlier. The difference stems from inaccurate information about the number of Poles in Kuwait at the moment of the Iraqi attack. Some 30-40 Poles are still in Kuwait, at their own risk and responsibility, most of them physicians.

The Poles from Kuwait are expected in Warsaw in the early morning on August 23.

The Polish diplomatic representation still operates in that country.

Poland has not accepted the decision of the Iraqi authorities to close diplomatic representations in Kuwait within five days.

The Polish Embassy will fulfil its tasks as long as possible. Eventually, the diplomats may be withdrawn to Baghdad if need be.

NATO-Warsaw Pact Rapprochement Viewed

*AU2108151690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
17 Aug 90 pp 1, 5*

[Maria Wagrowska commentary: "From Confrontation To Cooperation"]

[Text] Poland is the third member state of the Warsaw Pact (after the Soviet Union and Hungary) to have established diplomatic relations with NATO. Bulgaria has also said that it wishes to do so. This development is in direct response to the proposal made by the leaders of 16 NATO member states at a NATO summit held in London on 6 August 1990, although such a step has been under consideration for some time. The London offer was linked to an invitation extended to all the heads of state or governments of the Soviet Union and all other countries of Eastern and Central Europe to visit NATO headquarters in Brussels and exchange views on the future shape of East-West relations.

Analyzing this, as well as other propositions that were made at the London summit (intensification of military contacts: joint discussions on defense doctrine; the "open skies" concept; and a nonaggression declaration), one cannot but notice that this only became possible as a result of the current atmosphere of relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The radical improvement of relations does not, however, stem from the dialogue between the two groups (this was going on in the 1970's

with the acceptance of the first-generation of security-building measures and negotiations on conventional arms reductions in Central Europe). It is due to the fact that the balance of political relations in Europe has tilted in favor of the West. This is in some measure due to the West's own unflinching policy toward the East and its force of attraction. It is, however, overwhelmingly due to the political changes in Eastern European states and the shift in their security policy.

From 1967, when the first tentative signs of East-West evolution from confrontation to cooperation appeared, the Atlantic alliance grounded its policy against the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact on two apparently mutually exclusive principles—namely, armed strength and a readiness to begin dialogue. NATO currently still has a sufficient armed arsenal to implement its strategy of deterring a potential aggressor, but, at the same time, it is ready to revise its principles of military doctrine and to make deep cuts in its Armed Forces. It is striving to secure its position as a political alliance of Western European democratic states and for about the last two years has followed a policy of openness towards Eastern Europe.

Initially, this was evident through a heightened analysis of the consequences that the internal changes and the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact could have on international relations. NATO headquarters in Brussels and the so-called Atlantic Societies of various Western countries organized seminars devoted to this topic and the prospects for economic development of the Eastern European countries. In time, however, this led to the establishment of official contacts with the representatives of Warsaw Pact political circles (the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs visited Brussels on 21 March 1990; NATO's secretary general is due to visit Warsaw in September 1990). It does not appear, however, that the Atlantic alliance is convinced that the changes taking place in Warsaw Pact member states are totally irreversible. In one of the recent issues of *REVUE D'OTAN*, Belgian Foreign Affairs Minister Mark Eyskens has described five possible scenarios for the Soviet Union—from full success, to a complete fiasco of the Gorbachev "experiment"—and has shown the degrees of influence these scenarios could have on Eastern Europe and relations with the West.

One does not get the impression that the Western alliance is very interested in additional acceleration of change; at the most it would favor gentle stimulation. Fear of destabilization in a region where states are trying to shape their mutual relations anew is greater than any immediate advantages that could flow from more radical changes. It is only by holding onto the principle of the Vienna negotiations on arms limitations and conventional weapons in the region from the Atlantic to the Urals that it will be possible to agree according to the set timetable, begin reductions, and advance the process of CSCE. Neither side wants a consolidation of two military-political blocs. The documentation that establishes official relations between NATO as an organization of

16 Western states and the individual states of Eastern and Central Europe, but not the Warsaw Pact, testifies to this. This desire is even more evident in the proposal made by the West for a conclusion of a joint declaration to stop regarding each other as adversaries and to renounce the use of force or its threat. The London summit proposal foresees that the declaration would be between states and not blocs and holds out a possibility that neutral and nonaligned European states could sign such a declaration. Poland will only sign under those conditions.

Contacts and cooperation with NATO, which is itself undergoing visible changes from a defense grouping to a political alliance, is beginning to be perceived as an important element of Polish Western policy, as well as of other Eastern and Central European countries. This fact strengthens NATO's role in the creation of an all-European security system.

Official Views East, West Bloc Relations

AU2108152290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18-19 Aug 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Grzegorz Kostrzewa-Zorbas, deputy director of the European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Michal Ksiezarczyk; place and date not given: "Openness Toward The East"]

[Text] [Ksiezarczyk] Relations with the Soviet Union, Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact and the consequences thereof—these are still emotional topics, often producing contradictory assessments. Let us try and put these things in order. How do these matters look today, and how would we like them to look in the future?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] The new principles of Polish-Soviet relations mean that we are now equal partners. All these slogans have been misused. Now it is time to give them new substance. The most important task for the republic's new authorities is to implement our position, whereby Poland is not seen as being part of the East bloc.

[Ksiezarczyk] Does such a bloc still exist?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Not in our mind.

[Ksiezarczyk] But in the mind of the Soviet Union?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Psychological changes inside the USSR are still not sufficiently widespread. The final breakthrough was provided by the NATO summit in London, which signified an opening up by the NATO countries toward the changes in the East.

We do not feel Europe is in danger of a major war. The provisions of the former Polish People's Republic's foreign policy, based on a threat from the West, are fiction now. There is no such threat.

[Ksiezarczyk] So what is the danger?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Local conflicts in various parts of Europe, especially in the central-eastern part.

[Ksiezarczyk] But would Poland take part in them?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Poland is a long way away from the Balkans, where these threats are the most serious. Nevertheless, the continued disintegration of the Soviet Union might also have an unfavorable outcome. It involves other dangers. A comeback by conservative forces in the Soviet Union could be the greatest danger to our security, and we cannot rule out such an eventuality.

[Ksiezarczyk] What exactly could happen?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] There could be an attempt to restore the East bloc, but I do not think that is likely. The attitudes of President Gorbachev and his political backup, as well as those of the main political alternative groups—the Russian pro-democratic forces headed by Yeltsin, Sobchak, Popov, and Bocharov—are very far removed from any attempt to reimpose the existing bloc. If these two forces were to suffer major setbacks, however, a third force could emerge willing to make this attempt.

But let us get back to the Warsaw Pact. We want all the military coordination structures to be abolished. The only structure we will allow is the mechanism of consultations with every major partner in Europe and the world.

[Ksiezarczyk] So the Warsaw Pact would be deprived of its Joint Command?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Yes. The whole of Poland's Armed Forces should be independent, and the Polish Army should not be deployed outside Poland.

[Ksiezarczyk] In that case, what about the Soviet forces in Poland?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] The Polish and Soviet Governments have already said that they think that Soviet units should leave Poland, but they have not said when. They did not think a deadline was very important, because the Soviet forces are only playing a marginal role in Poland, and the size of these forces in Poland is far less than in other, considerably smaller countries. Of course, European events are undergoing acceleration yet again. All I can say right now is that in the new Europe, whose shape will be established in the autumn, there will be no foreign armies in the Polish Republic.

[Ksiezarczyk] If we say that the East bloc no longer exists, who says that it does exist?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] There are still people in the East and in the West who insist that it still exists. There is still a great debate in progress on the subject of the security of Europe, a Europe not just in the political sense, but also in the geographical sense, in other words a Europe not just between the Atlantic and the Urals, but one stretching from one Pacific coast to the other. There are attempts to base the new security structures on cooperation between two symmetrical blocs, hence the idea of creating something akin to Warsaw Pact authorities.

We reject any such idea. We think activity should take place purely on a European level, the basis for which should be provided by the London NATO proposal of a declaration of nonaggression between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. We think this should be a declaration between the countries of both pacts, but it should nevertheless be open for all other European countries to subscribe to, and it should be negotiated on a broad European level.

[Ksiezarczyk] Do you mean a multilateral pact of friendship and cooperation?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Perhaps not, because the point is not to have an overextensive agreement, but a multilateral declaration on one fundamental issue. Most importantly, it is necessary to overcome the division of the continent that was brought about by mutual feelings of impending war. Such a declaration would be the cornerstone of the new Europe.

[Ksiezarczyk] What would be the Warsaw Pact's place in this new Europe?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Let me repeat the definition cited by Foreign Minister Skubiszewski: The Warsaw Pact is a group of states, joined for self-defense, created in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter. That is what the Warsaw Pact is, and nothing more. It is not a bloc; there is nothing political about it.

Our government has been accused of wanting to "preserve" the Warsaw Pact, while Prague and Budapest are trying to dismantle it, and urging the Hungarians and Czechs not to do so. That is not so. Poland's stance is the most far-reaching of all. Our chief support comes from Hungary, but the Hungarians are less committed to this matter and it is not so important to them. The Czechoslovak authorities have been saying lately that the Warsaw Pact ought to assume a political nature. That is a sign of bloc thinking, of a desire to preserve the bloc. We do not agree.

[Ksiezarczyk] In that case, who does want to preserve the Pact?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Conservative forces in the East and in the West who cannot dispense with the vision of a bipolar world and cannot muster the effort to create a single Europe bereft of divisions. Talks on transforming the structures of the Warsaw Pact are under way. They should end in November, when a Warsaw Pact summit will take place and final decisions will be taken.

[Ksiezarczyk] What would Europe's security be based on?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] One might take advantage of the Helsinki process, but there are fears that Helsinki will suffer the same kind of fiasco that the League of Nations did. More and more people are inclined to believe that NATO should provide this basis, changing its role in Europe. NATO would then act as a stabilizer, offering protection against the dangers that are still occurring—

internal dangers in the shape of local conflicts, and external dangers, e.g. from the Middle East, where there are a lot of warlike regimes.

[Ksiezarczyk] What about our relations with the Soviet Union?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] We assume that the more our sovereignty and equality are implemented, the better our relations with the Soviet Union will be. We will probably become an associate member of the EEC in a few years time. The Soviet Union cannot count on such a status soon. Thanks to our independent politics, the border of the Western world will move closer to the Soviet Union. That is an example of the advantages to be gained from Poland's role as a bridgehead between civilizations. Poland, with its definitely pro-Western orientation, has no intention of building a "Berlin Wall" along the Bug river.

There is still barbed wire along the other side of our eastern border. I long for the day when this wire will be cut to pieces and the pieces sold as souvenirs, just like the barbed wire that once divided Hungary from Austria or Czechoslovakia from the FRG. We fail to understand why USSR citizens should have restricted possibilities of visiting Poland. We are not happy about the legal status of trade, whereby the lion's share of trade is under the control of central bureaucracy. An openness toward authentic cooperation is required.

[Ksiezarczyk] What sort of changes in the USSR would be best for Poland?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Just as we must abandon bloc thinking, so too must we abandon thinking according to the Pilsudski and Dmowski stereotypes. When I was editor in chief of NOWA KOALICJA, an underground paper calling for cooperation between democratic forces in various countries of the so-called communist bloc, many people thought we wanted a Central European federation. That was not the case. We wanted cooperation in order to perform a specific task—the liberation of these countries without resorting to the stereotype of permanent political organisms. Today, Polish-Ukrainian relations are viewed in the light of such a stereotype, whereby one side is against the other and one should either take Pilsudski's advice and enter into an alliance with the Ukraine, or take Dmowski's advice and form a Polish-Russian alliance against the Ukraine. These doctrines do not suit the present reality, and their implementation would be harmful. Poland cannot be a party to any internal alliances between components of the USSR, which does not mean we should be deaf and blind to the changes occurring there. We should maintain relations on two levels—with the confederation as whole (the USSR is aiming toward a confederation), and with this a confederation's component members.

[Ksiezarczyk] Let us be frank. The better things work out with this confederation, the better it will be for Poland.

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Yes, of course. I think that a confederation will emerge on our eastern border. Its central authorities will concentrate on defending international security, but in other spheres the role of its constituent parts, the republics, will increase very much.

The more credible we are, the better our relations with the Soviet confederation will be. If we were to build a wall along the Bug River, we would become the darkest and dampest corner of Europe. An elegant garbage heap would be the most we could expect to be in such a situation. The role of a bridgehead, however, is an historic chance for us. If we open our doors and windows wide to the East, we may be attractive to everyone.

It is necessary to cement this new situation with a new legal system and new agreement on relations with the USSR. The Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation, whose 1965 text is largely a repetition of the 1945 version, belongs to the past. This agreement is due to be renegotiated, and soon. The question of borders is clear, and has been finally resolved. An agreement on a communion of interests is required, just like the one with Germany.

Poland, anxious to be an integral part of the West, wants to be open to the East at the same time.

[Ksiezarczyk] That is feasible today?

[Kostrzewa-Zorbas] Yes. Today in the new European reality devoid of the danger of war, it is feasible. That enables us to spread our wings.

PAP, CTK Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD2108220790 Warsaw PAP in English 1712 GMT
21 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—Peter Uhl, the general director of the Czechoslovak News Agency (CTK), and Bogdan Jachacz, the president of the Polish Press Agency (PAP), today signed a new agreement on cooperation in the exchange of news services between the two agencies.

Peter Uhl, a leading figure of the "Prague autumn" is going to spend a few days at the Polish seaside at the invitation of editor-in-chief of the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity daily and a Sejm deputy Adam Michnik.

New Telecommunications Network Introduced

AU2108152090 Warsaw RZECZPSOPOLITA (Economy and Law Supplement p II) in Polish 16 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with Deputy Communications Minister Stanislaw Szuder by Krzysztof Szczesniak; place and date not given: "For the Time Being Its 'Komertel'—The Telephone Network Revives"]

[Text] [Szczesniak] Mr. Minister, rumor has it that any day now Western businessmen will stop complaining about the Polish telephone system...

[Szuder] If they do not stop altogether, at least they will have less to complain about. On 20 August 1990, we plan to inaugurate the "Komertel" telephone network in Warsaw. It will serve some 2,000 subscribers.

[Szczesniak] How many people have applied to join?

[Szuder] Some 1,000. Subscribers to this telephone network will be able to dial automatically all the countries that one can reach by telephone link from Western Europe.

[Szczesniak] Naturally, such a service must be very expensive?

[Szuder] Everything that is good tends to cost a lot. A standard connection to the "Komertel" system will cost some 10 million zlotys [Z], but periodic connections will also be possible; for example, a seven-day connection will cost some one million zlotys. This might be a good option for a visiting businessman who comes here for, say, seven days and needs to keep in constant touch with his company back home. The monthly subscription charge will be Z700,000 and every telephone call will be charged at the applicable rates in force.

[Szczesniak] Until one day when the telephone goes dead, but the bill will still have to be paid, as is the practice here in Poland.

[Szuder] For "Komertel" it will be totally different. If the telephone stops working for over 24 hours the post office will at no extra cost assume responsibility for the receipt of all communications coming from abroad and convey them to the unlucky subscriber in some other way. For every day that the telephone is out of action, the monthly subscription bill will be reduced by one thirtieth.

[Szczesniak] I fear that very soon all the 2,000 possible subscriptions will be filled and one will have to think about introducing "Komertel II."

[Szuder] "Komertel" is a provisional solution. For the long term, we are pinning our hopes on the new international exchange in Warsaw. Work has already begun and will continue until the end of this year. The exchange will continue to be expanded during the first quarter of 1991 and it is intended that it will provide some 3,500 international exchange lines; at present we only have 1,600.

[Szczesniak] But this is still inadequate.

[Szuder] That is why we have decided to build another international exchange in Katowice with a projected capacity of another 2,500 international lines. At the moment we are considering tenders for equipment and finance. In 1991, we would like to see it in operation.

[Szczesniak] And only then can one can speak of meeting the demand.

[Szuder] I agree, although for strategic reasons we could do with another international exchange somewhere in

northwestern Poland. Proposals are already under consideration, because it makes no sense; for example, to link Szczecin with the international exchange in Warsaw. This is, however, planned for the future.

[Szczesniak] Are we talking of Western technology exchanges?

[Szuder] Of course. The recent easing of COCOM restrictions will make their import and installation possible, especially for the equipment and programming of the so-called Number Seven Signalization, which is an essential prerequisite if we want to introduce integrated communication systems—namely, the possibility of simultaneously transmitting sound, picture, and data. Independent of this, we have already had COCOM permission for the establishment of digital radio links. Instead of laying an earth cable, which takes a long time, one simply constructs two towers and sets up a link between intercity telephone exchanges.

[Szczesniak] Please excuse me, but all this talk of radio lines, cell-nets, and digital exchanges, and so on, does not answer the principal question: Where is the overall logic or master plan?

[Szuder] There is one, I assure you. We are introducing new technology to Poland, working from the top downwards. It means that we first build a new international exchange in Warsaw. The next step will be to build an intercity exchange in Warsaw, as well as other in cities. At the moment, this is still in the theoretical phase, because we still do not know who will build these. We are evaluating various tenders that have been submitted, but we would like to be in a position to commission such an exchange in Warsaw in 1991. Then, there is the third stage—namely, transit exchanges. Warsaw has to have eight of these and they will be built by the Spanish Alcatel company, among others. The finance will come from the Spanish Government through the provision of low interest commercial credits. These exchanges will gradually come into service; the last one is scheduled for 1992. We are at the stage of signing contracts for these.

[Szczesniak] This will solve the problem of telephones in Warsaw in 1991 or 1992, but what about the rest of the country?

[Szuder] The improvement will begin to be noticed from 1991 onwards, although we have received many offers from countries that want to construct a telephone network, for example, on the scale of say one voivodship at a time. They are offering attractive financial terms and we intend to take full advantage of these possibilities.

[Szczesniak] Regarding telecommunications, what is our present debt?

[Szuder] At the moment it is a relatively small sum; some \$78 million, but new contracts are being signed all the time. Among other ongoing negotiations, we are also talking to the World Bank for the provision of finance for constructing intercity exchanges and digital radio

links. We are also exploring the possibilities of constructing a receiving station and linking into the Eutelsat. This would give us the capability of a satellite link with Western Europe. There are so many things that are being considered that it is impossible for me to name them all.

[Szczesniak] I do not know whether you agree with me, but it seems paradoxical that our trade relations with foreign partners seem to be going better than the attempts at solving our telecommunication problem.

[Szuder] Am I right in assuming that you are thinking about the proposed telecommunications legislation?

[Szczesniak] Exactly.

[Szuder] I hope that this legislation will be passed before the end of this year. Apart from the question of demonopolization of telecommunications, the legislation also foresees privatization of radio and television broadcasting. Without this legislation there is no possibility of establishing new radio and television stations. I cannot imagine elections to the Sejm and the presidency under the present broadcasting legislation and information systems monopoly. Only this issue can spur the Sejm to produce the new legislation, and this legislation will also make it possible to abandon the present system of official prices and take our telecommunications into the area of self-financing.

Parties' Alternative Economic Programs Assessed

AU2108151490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 17 Aug 90 p 1

[Alina Bialkowska report: "The Opposition Is Not Keeping Up]

[Text] Most parties say that they are committed to private property and the market economy. There are exceptions, however; sometimes almost amusing ones. The Party of Free Cooperative Members, for example, has no objections to combining "universal, egalitarian share ownership" with the belief that "capital is the engine that drives the economy." There are also instances of dodging the issues involved: The Polish Economic Party says that "every form of ownership is good as long as it is efficient."

At a meeting with journalists on Thursday [16 August], Professor Adam Lipowski, an adviser to the finance minister, said that "opposition parties economic programs are often criticized for not being concrete enough about the way in which goals are to be attained." This is, however, too simplistic an approach. Only the government has an apparatus that would enable it to work out such things. Yet, there is a certain "level of concreteness" that must be attained: If it is not attained, then what we have is not a discussion, but the bandying about of recommendations.

Of the 19 political groupings whose economic programs were compared, only three—the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic [SdRP], the “Rebirth” Polish Peasant Party [“Rebirth” PSL], and the Center Accord—have managed to attain the necessary level of concreteness. Professor Lipowski devoted most of his time to these programs.

The most frequent shortcoming of the alternative economic programs is, to put it rather unkindly, that they are stale. This is particularly true of the “Rebirth” PSL and the SdRP. Adam Lipowski said: “These programs are no longer pertinent. Many of the recommendations have lost their public appeal.”

It is said, for example, that the government should abandon its balanced budget policy, but the government has already announced that there will be a deficit in the second half of the year. It is said that checks on wage growth should be relaxed—the July increase in prices, however, may be completely offset by wage increases, and the supernumerary taxation rate has been reduced. Loans for farming are available, many import duties have been abolished, the interest paid on loans has fallen markedly and has been fixed for the whole year. “Valid suggestions are already being implemented by the government—and are sometimes being implemented too quickly,” said Prof. Lipowski, who added that parties should keep more abreast of developments. Many of the suggestions are generally sound. The Center Accord, for example, wants banks to be privatized as quickly as possible. But how should this be done? A lot of capital is needed to do so (banks must have a sound financial base) and Poland lacks sufficient capital.

Much is being said about the drop in output, and one of the solutions that is being proposed is that demand should be boosted by relaxing checks on wage growth (only the “Rebirth” PSL says that investment, rather than wages, is a better way of stimulating the economy). Do we want, however, to revive poor quality production? Do we want to make the production of poor quality goods profitable once again? We have to gradually move away from the administratively imposed tax on supernumerary pay awards, and we should start with those in the private sector. This should also apply to the state enterprises that are being privatized.

Finally, here are one or two items of interest. The SdRP is proposing that the Sejm not only approve central and regional budgets, but that it also approve enterprise financial plans and a plan for the population's expenditure and income. So, decisions about everybody's finances are to be made centrally once more.

The “Rebirth” PSL wants to set up a “foreign debt bank” with part of the capital input coming from Poles living abroad. The bank would buy up Polish debt. Regardless of whether there will be sufficient funds for this, it is the best way of driving up the dollar price of our debt on a secondary market.

On the other hand, the Center Accord talks about lowering taxation—in other words, reducing budget revenues—or in other words, taking money away from someone else: Should it be taken from welfare, education, or environmental protection?

National Party Concern at Solidarity '80 Decision

*LD2108222390 Warsaw PAP in English 1904 GMT
21 Aug 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—The National Party has voiced concern over the decision of the provincial court in Warsaw refusing to register the Solidarity'80 union.

“The decision does not serve either the building of public peace, or releasing activity at the grass-root level or strengthening confidence in the authorities which can block their political and trade union competition in such a way,” reads a statement adopted by the party.

The party also voiced hope that the decision is not final.

KPN-Democratic Faction Founded in Warsaw

*LD2108222690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] The Confederation for an Independent Poland-Democratic Faction [KPN-FD] has been founded in Warsaw. Until its first congress the group will be founded on the first statute of the KPN dating from 1980. The main programmatic assumptions of the KPN-FD are: withdrawal of Soviet Armed Forces from Poland and the speediest possible election of the new president. According to the group, Lech Walesa should become the president.

Iraqi Embassy Denies Husayn Assassination Rumors
AU2108202190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1853 GMT 21 Aug 90

["Iraqi Embassy Gives the Lie to the MENA Rumors"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—"Answering the rumors disseminated by the MENA Egyptian News Agency and mirrored in the Romanian press on August 18, 1990 about an attempt at President Commander Saddam Husayn's life, the press department of the Embassy of the Republic of Iraq makes a point of giving the lie to that news item which is groundless and has nothing to do with the truth and reality", shows a release from the Bucharest Embassy of the Republic of Iraq, sent in to ROMPRES.

Bulgaria 'Virtually' Closes Romanian Border
LD2108193190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1741 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, August 21 (TANJUG)—Romania's (?customs) department announced that Bulgaria has virtually closed its border with Romania today.

Bulgaria completely banned all border trade between the two countries, and Romanians in transit going to Turkey and Greece, are not allowed to carry any food and must leave Bulgarian territory within 30 hours of entry.

There has been no explanation for this Bulgarian measure restricting Romanians. It is presumed, however, that the cause was the expansion of the cholera epidemic in Romania which began on July 20 in the Danube delta. So far, 700 cases of cholera have been registered.

World Bank Said Willing To Work With Romania
AU2108165690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1438 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—After his interview on Monday with Prime Minister Petre Roman and Finance Minister Theodor Stolojan, Mr. Paul Arlman, executive director for Cyprus, Israel, the Netherlands, Romania and Yugoslavia of the World Bank, who was accompanied by Mrs. Eveline Herfkens, soon to become executive director for that area, told a ROMPRES editor that he had come to Romania before the IMF World Bank annual session in Washington to resume contacts in consideration of the successes scored in this country. The collocutor said he wanted to collect pieces of information on the implementation of the government programmes that have already been worked out with a view to identifying areas where the World Bank could be of help. To this end, the guests conducted talks with the finance minister, the governor of the World Bank and representatives of the Investment Bank, of the Agricultural Bank and of the Savings Bank.

Showing that in February Romanian authorities had stated their wish to normalize relations with the IMF and the World Bank, Mr. Paul Arlman expressed satisfaction at the fact that the executive directors of the Netherlands, who also represent Romania, could promote actions of interest to Bucharest. He said that, in his opinion, there had been important actions on the part of the Romanian Government whose intentions are highly encouraging, which was the reason why the World Bank wants to work with the Romanian Government, despite a difficult road ahead.

Budapest Ambassador Inquires About Tokes' Health
AU2208080990 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
11 Aug 90 p 3

[Unsigned article: "The Romanian Ambassador in Budapest Requests Details About Laszlo Tokes' Condition"]

[Text] In connection with the car accident in Hungary, in which Bishop Laszlo Tokes was involved, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that on 8 August 1990, the Romanian ambassador in Budapest, Mr. Simion Pop, paid a visit to Mr. Denes Tomai, deputy state secretary in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Romanian ambassador requested an explanation on the circumstances under which the accident took place and details about the measures that have been and will be taken by the Hungarian authorities to ensure proper medical care. He expressed concern over Bishop Laszlo Tokes' serious accident on Hungarian territory. Mr. Simion Pop requested the assistance of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to facilitate permanent contact with Bishop Laszlo Tokes and with the physicians who take care of him at Miskolc Hospital, while offering the assistance of the Romanian side to solve all problems in connection with Mr. Laszlo Tokes' health, as well as other problems.

Mr. Denes Tomai provided details about the accident. He assured the Romanian side that the Hungarian side took all the necessary measures to ensure Bishop Laszlo Tokes' recovery. Likewise, he promised a prompt response to the ambassador's requests, including assistance in visiting the patient as soon as the latter's health permits.

The Romanian ambassador sent a telegram to Bishop Laszlo Tokes, in which he expressed the hope that the bishop will recover soon.

Romanian Workers on Soviet Work Site Strike
AU2208103190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0943 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/8/1990—The Romanian News Agency ROMPRES was informed that the Romanian workers of the Arcom Krivoi Rog Site in the USSR have stopped their work for a general strike. The

main reason of that strike is the fact that the Romanian workers cannot buy personal goods and durables from the Soviet market because they are obtainable on special coupons given by authorities only to Soviet citizens. The Romanian workers also require their pay in hard currency. Besides the aforementioned requirements they demand the improvement of pay, working and living conditions as well as an adequate transport to their work places and back to the country, better possibilities to make phone calls to Romania.

Daily Condemns Pro-Transylvania Foundation

AU2108165590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1438 GMT 21 Aug 90

["Transylvania—Pro Transylvania Foundation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—The setting up in Budapest of the Pro Transylvania Foundation presided over by Romanian Citizen Suto Andras, in line with another institution of the same ideological orientation—the Union for Transylvania, has a more than harmful effect on public opinion in Romania, assesses Ion Gavra in daily TINERETUL LIBER issued in Bucharest. "Hungary", the author stresses, "has remained for the time being the only democratic and civilized state in the world which has not even to this date found it proper to publicly apologize to the Romanian people for the atrocities committed in Transylvania exactly 50 years ago."

Ion Gavra then refers to a string of ideas included in the foundation's program, among which the idea that "the equilibrium and harmony among nations in Transylvania have been disrupted", while it is known that there has been only one nation in over 2000 years in this territory, which is the Romanian nation, as well as the appeal to the Hungarian emigrants to return to "the ancestral land", opinions which the author of the article terms as "an historical forgery".

Deputies Chamber's Roman Meets FRG Official

AU2108195490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1849 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/08/1990—Ionel Roman, deputy speaker of Romania's Chamber of Deputies, received Jurgen Echtermach, secretary of state with the Federal Ministry of Systematization, Building and Urbanism, a Bundestag deputy, on August 21. They discussed collaboration between the two parliaments, the parliamentarians' contribution to the promotion of the political and economic relations between Romania and Federal Germany.

The interview was attended by Victor Dumitrache, secretary of state, head of department with the Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Physical Planning, as well as Dr. Klaus Terfloth, Bucharest ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Daily Views Inside Plots To Overthrow Ceausescu

AU2108161190 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
12 Aug 90 p 3

[Virgil Lambru article: "From the Luminous, to the Nebulous"]

[Text] If we were able to travel through the universe with the speed of thought, we would hear the echo of the former dictator's speech to the 14th congress, when he claimed that there is a bright future ahead of us—communism—toward which the party is wisely leading us. Those who took the floor prostrated themselves and thanked the brilliant one, who "modestly" accepted his reelection. A good chunk of those who took the floor at that time can still be seen today among the "elite." I believe there is nobody who does not remember the flattering of Eugen Barbu, who was convinced that Ceausescu is the most clear-sighted wise man among wise men. Yes, the same E. Barbu, who today runs a weekly publication and who now claims that Ceausescu was the greatest tyrant and criminal in the last quarter of a century. He notes with insolent "brilliance" that those who died and suffered in communist prisons, those fighters for freedom and social justice now belong to a cretin and outdated party [pun: the vernacular for "cretin and outdated" is "cretin" and "demodat," which is very close to "crestin" and "democrat," that is "Christian Democratic," the name of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party]. With "regard" we acknowledge his past merits, when plagiarism could pass for intelligence, but we believe that the confused road he has taken will eventually make him mistake the pencil for Dracula's dagger. Anyway, this is a question for posterity, while E. Barbu is concerned with the present. While Ceausescu was receiving such praise for driving the people toward the "bright future"—which was increasingly emerging as the downfall of communism—a plot was being prepared within the Communist Party of Romania, with Moscow's consent, for his overthrow. In desperation, the secretary general attacked Soviet policy, thus resorting to a nationalistic maneuver. Aware of the fact that the battle was almost lost, he paid that visit to Iran (where he transferred large quantities of the country's gold?), hoping for a rescuing intervention. Just then, the communists making up the movement for the removal of the Ceausescu family were taken by surprise by the people's revolution for the overthrow of the communist system. The situation became extremely delicate and dangerous for the anti-Ceausescu grouping, who saw itself obliged to accept and promote the thesis of an anticommunist revolution, thus removing the danger that came from the people and managing, in the confusion of the moment, to take hold of power. With the ability and experience acquired in their long practice of lies and deceit, they took action to move the odds in their favor, by resorting to the maneuver of the trial and execution of the dictators. Thus, they removed the greater danger that the current leadership was so afraid of. If, on 23-24 December 1989, there were opinions against the hasty execution of the couple, now there is

the conviction that that execution served the interests of those who took power, not the interests of the people, who wanted a thorough enquiry, which might have revealed some truths of historic value.

Such an enquiry would have returned to the country the huge assets deposited by the tyrants abroad. The 45 years of tyranny ended much too hastily—only with accusations of genocide and undermining the economy. Could Ceausescu alone have done all this? Of course not. They should have been investigated and put on trial together with the huge lot of communists from all leadership echelons who carried out orders throughout the communist period. But, did the communists who removed Ceausescu really need such a trial? The passage of time will give an answer to this. At this time, deliberately nebulous, communism left its mark through the ambiguity of the measures taken by the rulers, who, while claiming to be partisans of the democracy, have launched an underground campaign, which is the opposite of their stated proclamations. Everybody knows the events of the past eight months, and the guilty ones will have to account for their deeds, in the not too distant future. One of these "heroes" is the known Camarasescu [former Securitate officer, identified as one of the leaders of the miners in the 13-15 June events], who said that, if he is brought to trial, he will reveal the name of the man who ordered these crimes. In view of this statement, we firmly ask President Ion Iliescu to ensure that the guilty are being investigated and that those who ordered the genocide against the population of Bucharest be brought to trial. Reason dictates it. The country's citizens must know and punish these criminals. Likewise, we should also know whether the heroes who fell in December 1989 and on 13-15 June 1990 should be equally honored.

Former Detainees Group Holds Cluj Conference

AU2108145890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1015 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—The national conference of the Romanian Former Detainees' Association [RFDA] took place in Cluj on August 16 and 17. As a result of an analysis of the association's activity a number of decisions were made, such as: to call up the RFDA Congress on October 3 to 5, to publish the association's magazine REZISTENTA, to compile the "White Book" of the anticommunist resistance between 1945 and 1989.

Privatization Agency Secretary on Economic Needs

AU2108145990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1054 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—"If we don't produce we don't have what to consume"—stated Mr. Petre Terzi, secretary of state at the National Privatization Agency, in an interview with the periodical ECONOMISTUL. To remove the tendency and tangible actions that hamper free initiative, he went on, we will

suggest the government to adopt radical measures to allow each entrepreneur to carry on the activity he wants.

Answering a question regarding the activity of the agency he leads Mr. Terzi stressed inter alia that it would coordinate the drive of inventorying and estimating the assets of the state economic units, and elaborate the methodologic principles of assessing the social capital, as well as the privatization bill to be submitted to the parliament for debate and approval. The agency will closely cooperate with ministries, with other governmental organizations, as well as with territorial bodies.

In the secretary of state's opinion the inventory and estimation drive will be concluded at the end of 1990. Securities will be taken over from commercial companies, shares will issued and distributed to the population equally and freely. The negotiation of these shares will start in the third trimester of 1991 and will be possible only through the national privatization agency.

Brasov Truck Factory Holds Warning Strike

AU2108170090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1438 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—The Infratirea TU [Trade Union] Federation of the Brasov Lorry Works declared a two-hour strike of warning on August 20 in support of labour conditions and pay claims. Included in a 21-point list advanced to the government weeks ago, the claims refer to the necessity of ensuring the technical-material base, specific regulations on pensioning, celibacy, education and pay. By the time the strike started the TU did not get any answer from the government, which will make them, according to Ioan Cadar, chief of TU commission, start further actions, including the boycotting of supplies to the market.

Productive activity will continue but the sale of lorries to the home and external market will be stayed.

If the claims will not be granted even after that action the lorry workers will start a general strike.

Public Opinion on Parliament, President Scored

AU2108155590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1410 GMT 21 Aug 90

["Political Life: Trust in the Bodies Elected on May 20"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—Most Romanian citizens express their confidence in the bodies elected in Romania on May 20, shows a poll on 1,000 people recently conducted by the "Dacia" public opinion polling office (a non-governmental, apolitical organism). According to the poll, 87.50 per cent of Romania's citizens have confidence in Romania's parliament and president, 5.60 per cent do not trust them, 3.40 per cent do not trust them yet and 3.30 per cent will not say.

As many as 67.50 per cent express confidence in President Ion Iliescu, 6.60 per cent express lack of confidence, 14.30 per cent say they do not trust him yet and 11.60 per cent gave no answer.

The same poll shows that 69.3 per cent of the people polled consider Romania's present government able to solve most of the economic and social issues facing the country, 15.1 per cent consider it incapable and 15.6 per cent gave no answer.

The Romanian citizens' major concern is the obtainment of stable incomes—53.5 per cent; unemployment and the possibility of losing one's job—8.5 per cent; privatization and free initiative—8.3 per cent; children's future—7.1 per cent; supply of food and of necessary commodities—4.2 per cent; theft from units, black market and speculation—3.1 per cent; housing conditions—3.1 per cent; prospects of working or living abroad—2.5 per cent; land ownership—1.9 per cent; privatization of television—1.6 per cent; activity of political parties—1.4 per cent; other issues—4.6 per cent.

As for per-family average incomes in the first half of the year, as compared with the same period last year, 53.5 per cent consider they went up, 34.1 per cent think they dropped and 12.1 per cent say they are the same. However, 69.1 per cent consider that incomes will decline in the months ahead and only 8.3 per cent believe they will go up.

As for wages, 51.9 per cent say they will accept their freeze for a maximum three months, 37.3 per cent—for six months at the most and 11.8 per cent for nine months [figures as received].

Privatization, introduction of foreign capital or greater work discipline is seen as a way out of the current state of the economy by 56 per cent, 38.40 per cent and, respectively, 3.60 per cent of the people polled. Two per cent gave no answer. As for privatization, 57.6 per cent say that problem was not discussed in their units and only 11 per cent say the issue was tackled.

In the personal opinion of 53.90 per cent of the people polled, foreign capital will massively penetrate Romania in a year's time. As many as 13.60 per cent think that penetration is conditional upon the course of political events. In the opinion of 58.70 per cent of the people polled the major reasons of foreign investors' mistrust are the June 13-15 events; other reasons: the attitude of political personalities and parties—12.40 per cent, the actual state of the Romanian economy—25.70 per cent and the government's economic policy—3.20 per cent.

In general, 54.30 per cent of the people polled are dissatisfied with the evolution of all areas of activity after the December revolution, 39.60 per cent are contented with the political field, 11.20 per cent with the economic area and only 3.9 per cent with the social field [figures as received].

Commission Ordered To Look Into Brasov Situation

*AU2108195790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1830 GMT 21 Aug90*

[“Government Activities—Government Release”—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—In consideration of the technical and social questions posed by workers in several Brasov enterprises, Prime Minister Petre Roman ordered the setting up of a government commission to analyze the possibilities to settle them, shows a government release.

The commission is to investigate in specialty subcommissions the problems of supply of enterprises in machine building with raw and auxiliary materials and subassemblies, the future of the enterprises in the new conditions of the market economy, the population's supply with necessary goods, medical assistance and the liaison with the trade unions.

Participating in the talks due to start on August 22 in Brasov will be executives of the enterprises, of the prefect's office and specialty bodies in the county, as well as TU [trade union] representatives.

Romanian Bank To Open 'Soon' in Bucharest

*AU2108170190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1429 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[“The Economy—A New Private Institution in Romania: The Romanian Bank”—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—The Romanian Bank will be set up in Bucharest soon. The bank, which is conceived as a share-holding company, boasts an original capital worth one billion lei to go to shareholders in this country and abroad.

The Romanian Bank will perform commercial activities and will operate according to laws in force and to international banking practices. It will supply commercial agents with the funds needed to create new private enterprises and develop the existing ones.

Furthermore, the Romanian Bank will inform its shareholders and its permanent customers of the state of the home and external economy, will give consultations and will provide for links between home and foreign economic agents.

Former Interior Ministry Officials Go on Trial

*AU2108154690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1015 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[“Justice—Communique from Romania's Prosecutor's Office”—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—Under an indictment dated August 15, 1990, Romania's Prosecutor's Office—the Military Prosecutor's Directorate—

sent to court defendants Tudor Postelnicu, Iulian Vlad, Gianu Bucurescu, Gheorghe Danescu, Gheorghe Goran, Marin Barbulescu, Gheorghe Vasile and Mircea Varban, executives in the former Ministry of the Interior, who are in investigative custody on charges of illegal privation of freedom, according to Article 189, Section 2 in the Criminal Code. The indictment shows that while on duty on December 21, 1989, the defendants organized and coordinated activities whereby peaceful anti-Ceausescu demonstrators were illegally arrested and sent to the Jilava Prison. Subsequently, another 1,245 people were placed in detention there without warrants.

Under the same indictment, defendants Marin Pirvulescu, Ion Guresoae and Stefan Gheorghe, investigative officers in the former Securitate Criminal Investigation Directorate within the State Security Department, who are in investigative custody, will be sent to court. On the night of December 21 to 22, 1989 the defendants aggressed several persons inside the Jilava Prison and threatened them into making statements on their participation in the demonstration, the organizers of the demonstration and its purposes. They are therefore charged with abusive investigative procedures, according to Article 266, Section 2 in the Criminal Code.

The following aspects of this case will be investigated:

- Identification of the persons working with the former Interior Ministry other than the aforesaid defendants who helped in the arrest and molestation of demonstrators;
- Identification of the persons who used fire arms against the demonstrators killing 48 people and injuring another 150;
- The course of events inside militia stations where demonstrators arrested in the street were brought, with the persons having committed criminal offences being held responsible.

Nicu Ceausescu's Trial Resumes in Sibiu 21 Aug

AU2108195690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1833 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—The Bucharest Territorial Military Court of Law resumed on August 21 in Sibiu the trial of Defendant Nicu Ceausescu, who stands charges of genocide and failure to observe the regime of arms and ammunition.

The president of the court announced after calling the parties that the results of the approved medical investigation showed that the defendant had cirrhosis of the liver and other severe diseases for which reason the defendant applied for adjournment of the trial. In session, the defendant espoused his lawyer's conclusions. The lawyer moved for the continuation of the trial, while pleading for the defendant to be released from custody and tried in freedom.

In turn, the prosecutor assessed that more medical investigation was needed to establish whether the illness of the defendant was such as to prevent him from standing the trial.

Considering the opinions advanced, the court decided to ask the Legal Medical Laboratory Alba to urgently report whether, in consideration of the investigation made, Nicu Ceausescu could further stand his inmate condition.

New witnesses were then examined, Sibiu residents who told about the circumstances in which they had been wounded by firearms during the December 1989 revolution.

The next session is due on August 22, 9:30 [0630 GMT], when more witnesses will be examined, people manhandled by the forces that repressed the peaceful Sibiu population on the revolution days.

Timis County NLP Requests Deputies' Replacement

AU2208090490 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian
14 Aug 90 p 1

["Communique" issued by the Timis County National Liberal Party Organization; place and date not given]

[Text] To the National Liberal Party [PNL] leadership, Bucharest;

In connection with the situation of Mr. Dinu Patriciu and Mr. Horia Rusu, Timis County deputies to parliament, we inform you of the following:

As a result of the expulsion of Mr. Dinu Patriciu and the resignation of Mr. Horia Rusu from the National Liberal Party, the NLP Timis County Council decided that the aforementioned persons should no longer represent us and we request that they be replaced in the Deputies' Chamber by Mr. Leonte Munteanu and Corneliu Iovuta, in accordance with the electoral lists of the NLP Timis County of 20 May 1990.

[signed] The president of the NLP Timis County Organization, Dr. Victor Babusceac, and Secretary Engineer Ovidiu Draganescu

Pitesti, Curtea De Arges Water Pollution Noted

AU2108165790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1433 GMT 21 Aug 90

["Ecology—Water Pollution in the towns of Pitesti and Curtea de Arges (North of Bucharest)"]—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—Deterioration of the drinking water quality in the area Curtea de Arges-Pitesti is due to the over-proliferation in storage lakes upstream and downstream Pitesti of certain

blue alga genera that are part of the normal water microflora, a communique of the Ministry of the Environment shows.

This blue alga proliferation is caused by the long drought and the high temperatures reported of late, as well as by the discharge in the Arges River of big quantities of waste water that is incompletely purified or not purified at all (the Curtea de Arges Purification Station is running completely out of order and something is wrong with that of Pitesti, too). The Ministry of the Environment assigned a commission that went to Pitesti and Curtea de Arges and took measures to improve the performance of the two stations.

The blue alga over-proliferation in summer time is a complex phenomenon and it takes time to stop it. Bucharest's source of drinking water is the same Arges River and although potable, its unpleasant taste and smell may still persist for a while.

Fatal Express Train Accident Investigated

AU2108195990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1738 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—When the express 24 struck a shunting diesel hydraulic engine, between Brasov and Sigsoara, Trif Sorin, driver of the shunting engine and his aide, Ghimes Costin were struck dead. Another five persons in the express 24 were hospitalized, i.e. Arpad Szombori, express driver and his aide Florin Paia as well as Judith Sas, Emilia Baci, Ecaterina Tamas, express passengers, all of them Romanian citizens.

A commission made up of experts in the National Railway Department and in the Brasov Railway Department, headed by Iulian Tudose, representative of the ministry's executive, went to the place of the accident. Investigations concerning the accident's causes are under way.

ROMANIA MUNCITOARE Changes Name

AU2108165890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1417 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1990—Starting Today, August 21, the newspaper ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, press organ of the National Free Trade Union Confederation of Romania, will be called REALITATEA ROMANEASCA.

The tile of the newspaper was selected as it defines "its pragmatic concern and efforts to permanently serve reality and militate to put an end to deficiencies, abuses and inequity, to impurities in our young democracy", the front page of the new publication reads.

Both the newspaper and its weekend supplement will mirror the country's socioeconomic life, as well as events in the trade-union movement in Romania and abroad.

PNL-Youth Wing Issues New Publication

AU2208145390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1319 GMT 22 Aug 90

["Mass Media: A New Periodical—VIITORUL ROMANESC"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/8/1990—The first issue of the periodical "VIITORUL ROMANESC" has come out under the leadership of Gelu Netea, former director of the liberal daily "VIITORUL," one of the four youths excluded from the National Liberal Party who have recently set up a new party—the National Liberal Party [PNL]—the Young Wing.

As a liberal-oriented newspaper it will back the groupings with such a profile as potential political agents of a civilized, substantial and genuine opposition.

The first issue of the new periodical has a supplement, too, which aims at debating the draft statute, the draft political programme and the liberal economic alternative for the organisation of a national convention, the purpose of which will be the setting up of a liberal-oriented forum.

* Need for Voters To Give Up Hero Worship

90BA0270A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in
Romanian 8 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Dr. Sorin Pescariu article: "Paternalism and Political Infantilism"]

[Text] Most people have a great need to submit to an authority and to admire the person who represents authority. This collective need for authority originates, according to the great psychoanalyst Freud, in the attraction of the father figure, a feeling that becomes forever rooted in us in our childhood. Who but the father can be "great" in the eyes of the child? The father is the supreme authority in the family and this idea is internalized by the individual and becomes one of the basic elements of the unconscious.

The historical development of the human community demonstrates the existence of a religious and spiritual manifestation of this system (which we may call a father complex), along the lines of a primeval father—totem—god—deities—one God, and a secular manifestation such as primeval father—tribal chieftain—king, monarch—president, sole leader, dictator. Obviously, there is some overlapping between the two "manifestations," which is all the more pronounced the farther back we go in history.

In totalitarian societies, cultivating the father complex for the purpose of keeping the people in a subservient position is one of the conditions and "basic lines" of political tactics. In such societies, political paternalism blossoms unchecked and one of its consequences, imposed through various means, is the political infantilism of the masses. Political paternalism may be defined

as one of the characteristic styles of social leadership of dictators: the leader, assisted by a minority, takes decisions, punishes, and sometimes praises the people and thinks for them, invoking sacred or pseudo-sacred rights, such as nationalism or communist internationalism, for example.

Cultivating the primary needs (through starvation, for example) and infantile emotions of the people (for example: mother love—love of country turned into slogantouting basic patriotism) and keeping them at that level creates the eminently necessary basis that permits dictatorial paternalism. A people exclusively or predominantly preoccupied by obtaining food or defending the country's borders that seem perpetually threatened, are much more easily manipulated and controlled. The dictator is our kind father who feeds us, protects us against enemies, and perpetually watches over our happiness. In exchange, we must continually thank him for "doing everything for us"; in turn, we "do everything" for him and for the supreme cause—in our case, until the other day that was communism with Geto-Dacian roots, cultivated in a Romania gilded with the "gold" of empty words.

The leader encourages the wishes and illusions of the citizens (a better life, patriotism) and this encouragement is accepted uncritically, whereby the process of infantilism was "achieved" through material, social (housing in box-like apartment houses and cell-like apartments, minimum amounts of food, just enough to keep people alive), and psychological misery (disinformation through controlled media and paternalistic propaganda: continual glorification of the "beloved" leader). One of the major threats to the dictator father is religion, which is either forced into "submission" through its earthly servants (who become false servants, if they accept it) or repudiated through all possible means—from pulling down houses of worship to meting out even physical punishment to those who practice it.

Thus, a politically infantile community is a community that is almost exclusively concerned with food and material needs. Its members think for themselves and their families and let the leader and his local representatives—appointed or elected by formal ballot, even when it is secret—"think" for the collective as a whole. This is how the collective is silenced—the terrible silence typical of totalitarian states. The leader is not only the sole leader and the emanation of a sole party but shows every intention of perpetuating his leadership for an unlimited time. Physical death or losing control of the fragile, albeit protracted balance created by survival concerns are the only situations that usually cut short a paternalistic rule. Post mortem the leader becomes the "scapegoat" and the central focus of criticism and justification for a new leader.

In totalitarian societies dissidents are the true prophets who refuse to fall into the sin of being enslaved by the body, assume a spiritual posture, and reject secular-dictatorial paternalism.

Some political paternalism and a certain infantilism exist in democratic societies, too. They are, however, an expression of the individual and collective unconscious rather than being deliberately created by the leaders. A democratic society thinks as a whole and protects itself from excessive paternalism through democratic—economic (free initiative, privatization, free market), social (free mass media, ecological development programs), political (free elections, multi-party systems, limited terms in power), and other laws.

Gaining political maturity is a lengthy process made possible only through the elimination of the external (economic, social, and political) factors that maintained or (re)created the infantilism and through the (re)introduction of spiritual factors. Access to information in all the areas and at all the levels is the first condition that can (re)direct us toward growth and maturity. Freedom of information and expression brings with it a liberating release from paternalistic domination. The person who is politically mature can vote and select options not (only) with an eye to more food and a passport. He votes for the entire collective and for general progress. The politically mature person can rise above his individual condition and integrate his options within the general good, the only good that can in time have sound beneficial effects for the citizen as an individual entity.

Leader worship and uncritical acceptance, the clear signs of political infantilism, are not possible in the atmosphere of a politically mature, democratic society. The leader there is the faithful expression of people who consciously agree to be led. Once implemented, the laws of parliamentary democracy make tyranny almost impossible from the moment in which they are known to and respected by the majority.

* Regrouping of Political Forces Cited

90BA0269B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 4 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Petru Clej article]

[Text] As was to be expected, after the elections many changes took place within the Romanian political landscape. From the multitude of political groups of the preelectoral period that passed through the sieve, only about one fourth have remained and new group configurations are emerging. The political adventurers that tried their luck after the revolution are disappearing one after the other from the political stage and new personalities are emerging as the new democratic institutions are acquiring bone and flesh.

All the groups, beginning with the government party, are battling troubles. After Mr. Iliescu's resignation from the NSF [National Salvation Front] leadership (required by his election as president of Romania), his place was taken by Mr. Petre Roman (as political leader), and the broad movement is showing a tendency of becoming a party (curiously enough, in January that idea was viewed as historically obsolete...). The Front is confronted with

operational problems, which is only normal for an umbrella group that holds together (neo) communists, social democrats, and why not, liberals, too. It is pretty difficult to reconcile the position of someone like Alexandru Birladeanu with that of Adrian Severin, to cite only one example. In these conditions, it is not absurd to draw a comparison with the French Socialist Party which, at its March congress this year at Rennes, was rescued from possible disintegration by President Francois Mitterrand, who does not even belong to it [as published]. So far, Mr. Iliescu has not intervened, at least not publicly, but the problem here is not that the Front may split, but especially that a clear position must be defined (Mr. Dinu Patriciu, one of the leaders of the youth wing of the National Liberal Party, putting it colorfully if not elegantly, recently described the situation inside the NSF as a "can of worms.")

The major opposition force is the UDMR [Democratic Union of Romanian Magyars]. This party is what the Americans call a "single issue party," namely a group interested in dealing with only one issue, the national issue. Like the NSF, the UDMR is made up of former members of the nomenklatura, left-wing and right-wing members. However, until now at least, these differences have not come to the surface. As far as party discipline is concerned, that is probably the most homogenous group.

The "historical" parties, the NLP [National Liberal Party] and the National Peasant-Christian and Democratic-Party [NPCDP] have undergone restructuring processes, some more radical than others. They showed poor results in the elections and the explanation provided by their leaders, namely that they were hampered in their electoral campaigns and that there was electoral fraud, can explain this stinging failure only partially and unsatisfactorily. It is undeniably true that many of the leaders of those two parties did not quite grasp the realities prevailing in Romania today. Names like Bratianu and Maniu mean too little to the new generations poisoned by 45 years of communist propaganda and falsified history. These leaders had not grasped that the society which existed in the interwar period cannot be brought back to life. This was the background for the split in the NLP and it seems that each passing day contributes to weakening the position of Mr. Radu Campeanu and the group that (still) supports him.

Not the same thing can be said about the ecological groups which look like a centripetal movement. Having obtained noteworthy results in the elections, the Ecological Movement and the Ecological Party seem to be headed toward a group rallying five percent of the electorate. This group has succeeded in awakening an ecological awareness in a country in which the word "ecology" itself was a fuzzy notion until only five months ago.

Among the other parties represented in Parliament, the Romanians' National Unity Party, the Democratic Agrarian Party, and the Socialist Democratic Party frequently take

positions very close to the NSF's by virtue of their orientation. The Social Democratic Party has distanced itself from its former allies in the electoral campaign and, together with the (defunct) Democratic Center Group, it has joined the ecologist group in the House of Deputies. Worth noting among the rest may be the group of non-Magyar ethnic minorities, which is gaining in substance and is demanding firm measures to deal with specific problems that are becoming increasingly pressing.

Among the opposition outside the Parliament we note the establishment of the Democratic Union, a center group that has so far incorporated eight parties, and the "New Romania" group, also with a centrist orientation. The other parties are still at the experimentation stage; many of them have only two alternatives: to join a larger party, or to disappear.

And finally, the independents. The genuine independents, not those who ran on any party's list. Unfortunately, with only one exception, they didn't manage to get into Parliament. Mr. Octavian Buracu, former chairman of the Cluj branch of the CPUN [Provisional National Unity Council] has been making bold attempts to organize. The Romanian Independent Forum also represents an endeavor to group together all those who are not affiliated to any political party. Its objective is to replicate the Civic Forums of Czechoslovakia or the GDR.

By and large, we note a general trend toward more moderate positions. The power of attraction of the center is working on both ends of the political spectrum. That may be Romania's chance. Currently the dilemma is between social democracy or liberalism. Even the government's program is difficult to classify, and that is a good sign because the center constitutes a synthesis of the two currents. It is the site of the moderation and compromise that we so badly need at this time of transition.

* Manescu Address to Foreign Policy Group

90BA0296C Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian
2 Aug 90 p 3

[Speech by Senator Corneliu Manescu at the first session of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Romanian Parliament on 26 July 1990]

[Text] As we all know, Romania lived through important and sometimes painful experiences in the course of its history in searching for its natural place within the international community: as a factor of harmony and balance, as an untiring promoter of mankind's great ideals, and as an active participant in international exchanges. The same has now occurred with our revolution which, in only a few days at the end of last year, managed to take the world by surprise with its explosion in quest of freedom, liberation, and dignity, naturally oriented toward a loftier and brighter ideal of spiritual fulfillment.

Now that order is beginning to be restored by state organizations based on the legitimate and lawful principles of a civilian society and as an order stemming from the national mandate given to elected leaders; now that, gathering together the principles of democracy along the natural channels of our national spiritual makeup we must restore our ancient traditions to bridge the decades-long break alien to our depth, allow me to state that it is primarily the duty of the parliament and its members to ensure that Romania, through its constitution and laws, regains its personality as a nation and ensures the spiritual fulfillment of all Romanians and each one individually.

It is also the obligation of the parliament and its members, together with the other leading institutions of the country—the presidency, the government, and the Foreign Ministry—to show Romania and its assets to other nations and to establish natural relations with them.

The fact is that our image in the eyes of the other nations is a decisive factor for sovereign Romania's integration into international life and in the system of relations of the international community, as well as for its active participation in achieving the objectives and ideals promoted by all the states of the world, beginning with those in Europe.

In other words, we, those elected to parliament, are primarily responsible for reexamining the principles and landmarks of Romania's foreign policy, charting its main guidelines, and indicating—as much as possible—the means of implementing this policy.

Concerning the orientation of our foreign policy, we take the liberty of presenting a few points of reference for the future:

- Unlike the recent past, our country's position must not be established according to categories of states and political systems but as much as possible in a differential manner for each country separately;
- The situation of overseas Romanians will have to become one of the priorities of our foreign policy.

At the same time, we must make sure that individual citizens and persons are not ignored in matters of interstate relations, but on the contrary, that they are seen, heard, and heeded.

Similarly, I believe that our general policies and Romania's relations with other states and with international bodies will have to be made absolutely clear. As it is, we must not ignore the fact that we will have to seek the most suitable means of achieving these objectives addition to training and promoting competent diplomats.

Consequently, we, the representatives of the nation, have the duty to ensure not only good order inside the country but also to put all the energies of our minds and hearts to work on ensuring that Romania will regain its friends and alliances. We can do this by reexamining

everything good that our predecessors achieved internationally—in close relationship, of course, with the future that we strive to build according to our knowledge.

We will have to carry out continuous, efficient, and original activities to restore Romania to its own style, the style that naturally situates us in Europe, and thus at the heart of the world.

This is why, aside from the general foreign policy issues I mentioned, I think we must continue to examine the specific measures that Romania must take to participate in various international bodies, such as the Council of Europe, and later the EEC and others.

Also, Romania will have to attach equal importance to ratifying or joining certain special international treaties, such as the European Convention on Human Rights, to cite only one example, which, as is known, sanctions a system of protection of human rights throughout the world.

We must also resume our ties with interparliamentary groups—from our new positions—restore the Romanian Group of the Interparliamentary Union, establish relations of effective cooperation with the parliaments of other states, and become directly involved in the activities carried out by the European states in the process of achieving security on our continent, and in the activities of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council and of the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Union of West Europe, NATO's Parliamentary Assembly, and other parliamentary bodies.

In addition, each one of us must make an imaginative and thoughtful effort—that being the basic guiding necessity for any person working to contribute to shaping the self-esteem, pride, and moral standard of a nation—and endeavor, through the depth of our thinking and reasoning, and especially through our goodwill, knowledge, and capabilities, to turn Romania into what it deserves to be and into what it once was at other crossroads in its history.

Each one of us separately and all of us together must do what Titulescu once said referring to politicians: "Endeavor to integrate Romania into mankind's homeland, in which the fatherland of each one of us can integrate naturally, without losing its own personality, so as to create a great universal harmony; this may be an ambitious dream but it is also so active a reality that no obstacle can discourage us; so powerful is tomorrow's light in us and so much it illuminates our thoughts and hearts."

May these ennobling thoughts provide us with fruit-bearing seed and guidance in the activities we begin and to which we must dedicate ourselves.

*** Student Leader Munteanu Asserts Innocence**

90BA0269A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
5 Aug 90 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Students League Chairman Marian Munteanu by Odette Hanganu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Hanganu] When did you find out about your release?

[Munteanu] The same exact text that was read on television was sent to me, too (which stated that I was to be released and that investigations will continue), on the day in which I was released, 2 August 1990.

[Hanganu] Do you think that your release had a political motive?

[Munteanu] Both my detention and investigation had two phases to them. The first, the civil one, was rather unpleasant. Then came the second phase, during which I was questioned by civilian prosecutors. About one week ago the questioning was taken over by the military prosecutor's office. Speaking for myself and from the position in which I was, namely as the defendant, I have no complaints. They behaved pretty decently. In other words, without bias.

[Hanganu] Do you think that your release was a natural consequence of the inquiry, or of a compromise with public opinion?

[Munteanu] The investigators presented certain data as the basis for my arrest; they claimed to have certain statements, indications, and 'evidence.' Of course I was very much afraid that if perfect silence had prevailed, the situation would have continued undisturbed. It lasted much too long anyway. I don't know what evidence they had. What I know for certain is that I am innocent. This is a fact. When the civilian prosecutor told me that I was filmed on the police dais, I wanted to laugh. I was not there, so how could I have been filmed. The most perfunctory examination of that tape can solve any remaining problem. I went on Calea Victoriei but I didn't go near the police. And they told me I was filmed at the police. I told the prosecutor in question: That cannot be. Please check the tape again carefully, there must be a mistake. I didn't want to accuse them of lying. When I was released, I was told that the judicial rules forbid any discussion on matters concerning the file. As far as I know, there was some evidence, given, for example, at Magurele....

[Hanganu] What do you know think of the university demonstration and the miners' intervention?

[Munteanu] Although I did expect some violent reaction at some point, that was more than I expected! It was an incalculable mistake. A tactical mistake. As far as I know, it is being said that the miners were not summoned but came of their own accord, out of civic spirit; on the other hand, it is also said that some of those people were not miners, which is very possible, and that

they were responsible for changing the nature of the intervention. Anyway, this seems to be a very complex game but the mistakes that were made were so great that I find it difficult to believe that the miners were not summoned to come and smash and destroy everything. That denotes lack of political tact and absolute incompetence. If the miners were called in to restore order, I don't think that anyone stood to gain by what these miners did. Even if we were to see some justification in getting the miners to Bucharest, although there was no such justification, we still cannot understand why the authorities condoned such violence because it acted against the authorities and against the state.

[Hanganu] What do you think are the prospects for talks, in view of the fact that several discussions have already been held between Mr. Iliescu, Mr. Ursu, and the Students' League, and in general with student representatives?

[Munteanu] From my viewpoint (at least that was the position my colleagues and I adopted in December), I viewed the students' movement, given the specific conditions prevailing in our country, serving as a possible backbone for civilian society. I think that with the things we have done, some more successfully than others, we want to serve as a sort of social monitoring group. And to a certain extent I think we have succeeded in that. Of course, the difficulties have been considerable but less great than those of other social groups, the intellectuals for example. By the nature of things the student body enjoys an organizational advantage. We already have an organized structure in the university. Thus, from the onset it is easier for us to take an organized position. To me it was obvious, after the Revolution, that the primary problem regarding any civic, political, or any other actions in our country was going to be the problem of organization. Because for so many years we all lived in a country in which any shadow of an organization was impossible with the exception of those inside the Communist Party and state institutions, which in turn were controlled by the communists.

Age, ideas, and the generation all contributed to creating this possibility. I was extremely pleased to see a certain unity recently emerging within the student movement. Concerning the position of the students in general, I think it can be said that they effectively support real democracy in this country above and beyond political partisanship. My guiding idea was to establish a social force not affiliated with any party which should support principles that are essential for a democratic state. That is why we included them in the 28 December Declaration Program. I think that the first three of them are clear: freedom of circulation of persons and information (Human Rights), the principle of democracy, and the principle of competition. These are our three basic principles, and nothing can stop us on our way. We do not oppose a given party's program or the party itself but we do effectively oppose certain practices and methods, a certain working style, a way of blocking information,

and a certain strategy of lies. When the authorities adopt another position, we will preserve our critical and watchful attitude.

[Hanganu] What do you think of the attitude of students who are thinking of leaving the country or at least abandoning the political arena?

[Munteanu] After all that has happened here I have no right to criticize them. Unfortunately, their actions are justified. I am in principle against the idea of leaving the country. I won't say that I have never considered it. I did, too, especially recently. But I do not agree with those who claim that there has been no revolution. There has been a revolution, it has in fact begun. I do not think that all the avenues are closed and that there are no chances left. As long as there are still chances of remedying the situation, it is worth making the effort.

Editor's note: Yesterday, 3 August 1990, Mr. Marian Munteanu gave a news conference for Romanian and foreign journalists in the Auditorium of the Law School.

*** Romanian Press on 'Hungarian Empire' Book**

90P20099A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
10 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Octav Malureanu article: "Doctrine Without a Mask"]

[Text] In contrast to the voluminous writings on history, full of impersonally written facts, Professor Raoul Sorban presents to us in his concise *Fantasma a Imperiului Ungar si Casa Europei* (Phantasm of the Hungarian Empire and the European House) another type of historical literature. The events are viewed from above; the view is a general one and the conclusion, concentrated and firm. Phantasm of the Hungarian Empire and the European House is an essay on the ideology and mentality which have been at the basis, all the time, of the Hungarian actions for the domination, assimilation, and denationalization of other peoples, for the revision of political maps and treaties, and for the extermination of an entire population on the basis of an ethnic plan of a government.

Phantasm of the Hungarian Empire and the European House is a polemic book in the face of the circumstantial motivation of certain historic events and actions which are listed in a series and which, actually, have a single cause. Raoul Sorban attacks, without mentioning it, mentalities inclined, for various reasons, to treat conflicts such as those in Tg. Mures or outbreaks such as those in Miercurea Ciuc as local incidents, without any connecting factor, and without any relation to other similar events. The events, Raoul Sorban tells us indirectly, are not judged separately but should be seen in their historic interdependence. Anyone who considers events such as those of 1990, 1989, 1944, 1940, and 1918, which took place on Transylvanian soil, to be accidental occurrences and presents them as dissimilar happenings, rejects the possibility of treating them from an historic perspective. These events, Raoul Sorban's

work tells us directly, come from a manner of being. This manner of being results from a way of thinking. This way of thinking is the result of the construction of an idea and of a view. Moreover, Raoul Sorban tells us, the view is not new but it has been inherited. It is an idea that was worked out earlier by the Hungarian state and the aristocracy, the idea that the Hungarians have an historic mission and, therefore, are a chosen people.

In practice, the status of a chosen people is confused with that of a dominant people which belittles and oppresses other peoples and this historic mission is confused, in its turn, with the idea and force of European policy at the moment. Regardless of who devised, launched, and supported this idea and force, that is, regardless of its paternity, the Hungarian state feels that it is called upon to embrace it and to use it in its specific way, exhausting it, and embracing, in a new period, another idea and force, also produced by new ideological laboratories. We know that Hungary fervently served the idea of Austrian imperialism, only to reject it later, as it did the Bela Kun type of Bolshevism, in order to turn in a completely different direction, first playing Vienna's card and then Moscow's card, then turning to Berlin's card and back to Moscow's once again. Put in the service of these programs, which have been devised and expressed by others, the Hungarian ideologue does nothing but serve a specifically Hungarian doctrine, according to which Hungary is the bearer of a civilization in the corner of the world where it has rested for the past 1,000 years.

State, the doctrine of Hungarianism, with its "Magyar-Roman" corollary, was illustrated with sufficient force. The chauvinistic nationalism of traditional Hungarianism was also illustrated by the "revolutionary" Bela Kun, who dreamed of maintaining the former Hapsburg empire under the Hungarian label! Whenever it had the opportunity, socialist Hungary cultivated neorevisionist theories aimed at Transylvania, in particular, although socialism supposedly was incompatible with such a doctrine. Phantasm of the Hungarian Empire, of Great Hungary, glides over all the postmedieval Hungarian policy initiatives and plans.

Formally, juridically, the Hungarians disguise these initiatives with modern phrases, concepts and words, which does not prevent them from being what they have been, that is, actions from the Middle Ages, disguised in modern garb. This is happening today with the idea of a common European house as the quintessence of modernity, a rather imprecise, vague project which Hungarian scholars have fervently embraced, in order to relaunch, under the unspecified garb of this European house, the old claims and plans in regard to Transylvania. The quotations which Raoul Sorban gives are graphic: It is not a question of the European house, but of old interests of a Medieval type on the part of Hungary, which is being modernized only on the outside, mobilized inwardly by the phantasm of an empire, which was not an empire but which permitted Hungarians to believe that they are a chosen people and that they have an historic mission.

Raoul Sorban quotes from Hungarian publications of February 1990 but he would have had enough proof even after that date, both in Budapest publications and in publications in Romania in which the theory that the European future of Romania passes through Budapest and that the European integration of Romania depends on Hungary is emphatically presented. For Hungary, the European house means Transylvania but these fantastic theories and phrases are presented as an attempt to provide a principled and apparently modern cover for this old desire! Raoul Sorban's essay shows us how to view the phenomenon and Hungarian policy from within. In addition, the entire book relies on a well-known Hungarian bibliography as its source which confers additional importance and distinction on the study

Phantasm of the Hungarian Empire and the European House. By means of this work, Raoul Sorban helps us to decipher in events close to us a doctrine of monopoly and exploitation, a doctrine capable of genocide. Phantasm of the Hungarian Empire and the European House is not only a penetrating ideological x-ray, undertaken by a cultivated spirit, perfectly familiar with the universe of ideas and events in Central Europe, but it is also an alarm signal. The fact that Raoul Sorban is also a Righteous Man (a Yad Vashem title which certifies that a person saved human lives at the risk of his own life during the extermination campaign waged in Northern Transylvania by the Hungarian occupiers against the Jews and the Romanians) confers an additional dimension on this revealing historical-ideological incursion.

Iraqi Ambassador Discusses Crisis, SFRY Trade

AU2108123990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
18-19 Aug 90 p 13

[Report on interview with Iraqi Ambassador Wahbi al-Qaraghalli by Borislav Vasic, reprinted from OSMICA, date of original publication not given: "It Is Oil That Is in the Center of Events, Not Kuwait"; all quotation marks as published]

[Text] In his interview with OSMICA, the Iraqi ambassador to Belgrade, Dr. Wahbi al-Qaraghalli, veteran of Saddam Husayn's diplomatic corps, presented to Borislav Vasic the views of his government on the current crisis in the Gulf. Answering the question on how he assessed Iraq's position following the aggression on Kuwait, and the situation that is assuming an increasingly dramatic character from day to day, al-Qaraghalli said:

"The cause of tensions in the Gulf is not Iraq's entry into Kuwait. Iraq is an oil-producing country, and, as one Western official said, has currently the fourth largest Army in the world, something that is worrying the West. We are militarily strong, but our forces are for meant for defense only. We do not want to attack anybody.

"After the eight-year war with Iran, we have a well-trained Army. We developed our Army by using the military technology that we received from various parts of the world, including Yugoslavia.

Kuwait Is Part of Basra

It is wrong to link the events in Kuwait with Saudi Arabia. We have an agreement on friendship and good-neighborliness with Saudi Arabia. We also recently resolved the border question. Last March we signed agreements on nonaggression and noninterference in internal affairs with Saudi Arabia. We have been cooperating well in OPEC.

[Vasic] From the point of view of the international community, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are sovereign states and members of the United Nations. Why are you then making a distinction between the two?

[al-Qaraghalli] From the historic point of view, Iraq and Kuwait are one state. Before the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Kuwait was a part of Basra. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the British came here and discovered oil. Instead of Iraq and Kuwait being one state, the British divided them into two states. Their policy is well known, divide and rule. Even during the kingdom, Iraq always insisted that Kuwait should be a part of Iraq. Even when Kuwait became independent, Iraq always insisted on its right to this new state. The borders between the countries are still not drawn up properly. Kuwait helped us during the war with Iran, but after the war, it started to behave completely incorrectly. They forgot that Iraq in fact bloodily defended the Kuwaiti people. We expressed readiness to hold negotiations, and this is why we went to Jidda. After that, the revolution

took place in Kuwait. A new government was formed. The government is asking Iraq for help. This is confirmed by the fact that the rulers of Kuwait fled before our troops arrived. The revolution in Kuwait was carried out by the Kuwaitis themselves, not by the Iraqis. Foreign forces were invited to interfere at the same time the Iraqi Army came to defend the new authorities. Iraq entered Kuwait between 1 and 2 August. On 3 August, we already issued a statement on withdrawal. Meanwhile, foreign forces had arrived and they represent direct threat to Iraq. In order to counter this danger we remained in Kuwait. Our Army's entry into Kuwait is only an excuse for carrying out aggression against Iraq. The reason lies in the fact that the United States and the West do not want a strong country in this region, except Israel. Their aim is that Israel remains dominant. President Saddam Husayn said that if Israel attacked Iraq, Iraq would retaliate. We now have the information that Israel is preparing to attack Iraq.

Readiness for Sensible Solution

[Vasic] Oil is always in the center of conflicts in the Middle East. Is this the case on this occasion too?

[al-Qaraghalli] We have been cooperating with all OPEC members in order to preserve the price of oil and the agreed quotas for each country. We saw that two countries, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, were cheating on the agreed quotas. This led to a sudden fall in the price of oil on the world market.

We would like to see a stable situation in the oil market, because this is in the interest of both consumers and producers. During the summit in Baghdad, we warned Kuwait and the UAE and sent our envoys to explain our views to them. They were producing two million barrels a day more than they were supposed to. This led to the four-dollar per-barrel drop in the price of oil. Iraq produces 13.14 million barrels a day, which means that we were losing \$12.5 million a day. We need every dollar because we have to repay our foreign debts, develop our economy, and invest in our country. They were carrying out the West's plan to destroy Iraq's economy. Now we have foreign forces on the Iraqi border, an economic blockade that contravenes the UN resolution, and all Iraq's oil pipelines closed—all this is done to break the Iraqi economy. We still believe in peace and do not want a war. President Saddam Husayn recently launched an initiative and opened a possibility for a diplomatic solution to the crisis. If the West wants peace, then we should sit down and negotiate. Israel should withdraw from all occupied territories, Syria should withdraw from Lebanon, and Iraq and Iran should withdraw their troops from each other's territory. As regards Kuwait, we are ready to find a sensible solution. The world did not do anything when Israel attacked Lebanon and when it occupied the West Bank.

[Vasic] You said that your country is ready to do anything for peace in the region. Are you ready to withdraw your troops from Kuwait?

[al-Qaraghalli] President Saddam Husayn's initiative is all about that. The initiative conditions this with the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the Palestine, the West Bank, Gaza, and Golan, and the withdrawal of the Syrian troops from Lebanon. We would then find a solution for Kuwait and respect the will of the Kuwaiti people. This means that the president has tied our withdrawal to the entire situation in the region.

[Vasic] You say that you are offering peace to everybody, but at the same time, your minister for foreign affairs is warning the United States that you have an army with modern weapons and eight years of war experience.

[al-Qaraghalli] Only for defensive purposes. The U.S. and the British navies are arriving—there are more than 55 naval ships in the Gulf. If they had come in order to implement the resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations on the embargo, they would have needed two navy ships to control entry into the Persian Gulf. They have shut down all our oil pipelines. In Saudi Arabia, there are already more than 50,000 U.S. soldiers, more than 10,000 Egyptian soldiers, and a large number of other soldiers. This means that the plan to attack Iraq is already ready. When the United States carried out an aggression against Panama and Grenada, all UN actions ended only on the paper.

[Vasic] Is there a possibility to penetrate the blockade in view of the closeness between Iraq and Jordan and the renewal of good-neighborly relations with Iran?

[al-Qaraghalli] Jordan is our great friend, but as all other countries, it has its own interests. The Jordanian King Husayn is currently holding talks with President Bush. Jordan is a small country and cannot oppose a superpower. Besides, Israel is Jordan's neighbor. Regarding Iran, we started negotiations on permanent peace back in April. This is why the letter of President Saddam Husayn to Rafsanjani was not motivated by the wishes to find a new way out. We know that Iran may not be a way out for Iraq, because the opposition to Iraq in Iran is still very strong. Besides, Iran said that it will respect the UN resolution on the embargo.

[Vasic] Would you call the activities of the U.S. or pan-Arab troops from Saudi Arabian territory toward Kuwait as an act of aggression against Iraq?

[al-Qaraghalli] Of course, this would be an attack on Iraq because our forces are there.

Obligations to Yugoslavia

[Vasic] The Yugoslav Government has officially stated that the UN sanctions against Iraq are hurting us much more than other countries. There are some 10,000 Yugoslav workers in Iraq, Iraq's debts to Yugoslavia exceed \$1 billion, and the value of the work performed by our enterprises in Iraq also exceeds \$1 billion. Can Iraq in this situation guarantee the repayment of its debts to Yugoslavia and the continuation of the work that has been started?

[al-Qaraghalli] The facts that you mentioned are correct. When Mr. Ante Markovic visited Baghdad this year, we discussed the repayment of our debts. According to the agreement reached, Iraq would deliver 3.2 million tons of oil to Yugoslavia with regard to these debts. Iraq intends to fulfill its obligations. We want to preserve good relations with Yugoslavia. Whether we will be able to continue repaying our debts with oil, will depend on the economic and political situation in the region. We are ready to continue our delivery of oil, but all our oil pipelines are shut at present. As soon as the situation returns to normal, Iraq will continue regular service of its obligations to Yugoslavia.

Reaction to Serbian Referendum, Unrest in Knin

Tudjman: 'Scenario of Destabilization'

LD2208115190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Stockholm, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—Croat President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, in his interview last night with the Swedish Radio program for the Yugoslavs, "Dnevnik" (Diary), stressed that, regarding the events in the Knin area, the new Croat authorities "had done everything to avoid bloodshed." He added that what had been manifested there was "persistence in the implementation of a scenario of destabilization of democratic authority in Croatia."

Dr. Tudjman said that, as far as the referendum is concerned, "it had no legal basis whatsoever" and that "it will mean nothing for the Croat Republic." Besides recalling that "from the very start (of the new administration) the Serb population had all their rights guaranteed," Tudjman promised that proceedings will be taken against those who were resorting to "illegal methods" and who had caused the new situation. The Croat president mentioned: "That there had been some cases of death among the armed guards because of carelessness."

According to Dr. Tudjman, the organizers of the referendum "had been provoking the Croat population" but they, he added, refused to be provoked. He mentioned that they had "damaged four foreign registered cars yesterday." The Croat president drew the conclusion that what had happened "was a criminal and destructive action with implied long-term objectives."

Answering a correspondent's question, who was conducting the interview in Zagreb, on whether he agreed with the assessment that the unrest staged in the Knin area could help Mr. Milosevic to strengthen his authority, Dr. Tudjman replied in the affirmative. "I think that newspaper commentators are quite right in this respect," he said, adding that in "fact the intention was to divert attention from what is happening in the eastern part of Yugoslavia."

Tudjman Invites International Observers

LD2108180290 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1432 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Bonn, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—In a statement to the West German daily DIE WELT, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has invited representatives of international human rights organizations and the European Parliament to come to Croatia.

The Bonn daily today cites Tudjman as saying that the representatives should come and see for themselves that the claims about the discrimination and oppression of the Serbian minority in Croatia are unjustified.

DIE WELT writes that Tudjman condemned the actions of armed Serbian civilians in the area around the Croatian town of Knin, describing them as a coup-attempt with the aim to destabilize democracy in Croatia.

Mesic: 'National Awareness' Released

LD2108220490 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1653 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—“We do believe in both the Croatian and Serbian peoples, that they are sensible and that they do not want any excesses”—says Prime Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Stipe Mesic in his interview to the Zagreb DANAS weekly.

In explaining the situation in Croatia and Yugoslavia after the events in the Knin region concerning a referendum of Serbs on their cultural autonomy in Croatia, Mesic says that this was in fact a “valve” for the Serbian Government which in this way wanted to distract the world public attention from the amassing and unresolved problems in the ethnically troubled Yugoslav province of Kosovo.

As for the referendum, a ban on which had been announced days ahead of its beginning on August 19, Mesic says that no one in his right mind and with good intentions cannot organize a referendum without having asked one Croat anything.

“We have called in representatives of the Serbian people in the republic's parliament for talks. They did not want to come. Not one document has reached us from the Serbian population to tell us what they are dissatisfied about. They assert we have ousted Serbs from the new Croatian constitution, but this portion of the constitutional provisions has not been changed at all,” Mesic states.

In Mesic's assessment, national awareness has been released in all the Yugoslav republics, and hence some excesses do occur. An accord, says he, must be made by all Yugoslav nations about a future Yugoslavia, for, with everybody discontented, that means that the model in which we had lived was not all right. “Why should we then slave to this model,” Mesic wonders.

Asked by DANAS when the excess situations, predominantly those between Serbs and Croats, would stop, Mesic replied that this will happen after democratic elections are held in Serbia. Irrespective of the outcome, says he, “the Croatian Government will negotiate with whoever is elected.”

Serbian Party Leaders Meet

AU2108201690 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Correspondent Milos Rajkovic from Knin]

[Text] A news conference organized by the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) about the most recent events in connection with the referendum on the autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia is under way here in Knin. The party's leader, Jovan Raskovic, is not attending the news conference although he was expected to. SDS spokesman Ognjen Ignjatovic informed the numerous representatives of the fourth estate from the country and abroad about the current situation in the Knin region.

[Begin Ignjatovic recording] The people of Knin today called on all ethnic Serb militiamen in the Republic of Croatia to follow the example of the Knin militiamen and to come to the side of the Serb people in the republic. For such state terrorism over one's own population as the Croatian leadership is committing against the Serbs in Croatia is unprecedented in the recent history of mankind. On the last three consecutive evenings, the Croatian police [redarstvo] have been opening occasional fire on the village guards on the barricades, although these barricades were in fact a wooden table placed near the road. Last evening, we received the news that a kiosk in the (?Bilakovo village) belonging to an ethnic Serb from Knin had been set on fire.

Can you imagine a situation in which a minister of internal affairs gives himself the right to threaten to stop supplies of food, gasoline, money, and other things for the Knin region? [end recording]

Milan Babic, president of the Knin Communal Assembly and member of the highest SDP leadership, explained that he did not issue the order last Friday [17 August] for a state of war to be imposed in the Knin community, because, as he put it, he lacks the authority to do so. He explained what happened then.

[Begin Babic recording] On that day I received a telex message from the president of the Obrovac Commune—which was also sent to the commander of the Knin garrison—saying that armored transporters of the Croatian Internal Ministry were moving toward Knin, that the people of Obrovac were ready to stand in front of the transporters and not allow them to enter the town, and that blood might be shed. The message asks the commander to prevent the bloodshed.

This was of course spread throughout Knin. Other news being heard was on the weapons of the reserve [word

indistinct] of the militia that the communes had bought for their militiamen having been taken away from them and sent to the so-called new guard formed in Zagreb on the purely Croatian national basis.

The disturbance has brought people to the streets near their houses and they have started to put up obstacles on the roads, counting on the possibility of this also happening in Knin.

In such a situation, the center in Knin was showered, so to speak, with various pieces of information as well as disinformation including, among other things, the one saying that armored transporters are moving from (?Ocic) toward Knin, that they are at Oton, and that shots are being fired there, that I had proclaimed a state of war, and so on. [end recording]

As I have said, the news conference, which began at 0630 [0430 GMT], is still under way, and we shall provide more information about it in one of the coming newscasts.

Jovic Briefed; Stresses Unity

LD2108211590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1918 GMT 21 Aug 90

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—Overcoming the conflict situation implies not only the observance of a right of all nations and citizens to directly express their sovereign rights and interests, but also the observance of current laws and the constitutional and legal order. This is stressed in an SFRY Presidency statement issued at its session today, which reads:

"The SFRY Presidency, presided over by Dr. Borisav Jovic, examined the situation in the Knin region and certain municipalities in Lika, Banija, Kordun, and its impact on situation in Croatia and Yugoslavia at its session held today.

The session was also attended by Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, and federal secretaries for national defense, internal, and foreign affairs.

The SFRY Presidency was informed about steps and measures taken by the FEC and other competent federal bodies, and Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman provided information on the latest events.

The Presidency assessed that exacerbation of intranational tensions in certain municipalities in Croatia caused a serious disruption in the functioning of the legal and political system, and the complete political and security situation in the country; this threatened to bring about most tragic consequences.

The Presidency assessed that the situation has stabilized. This was facilitated by efforts on the part of competent bodies at all levels to find a peaceful solution to the strained situation. The Presidency stresses, however,

that problems have not been resolved, and that it is necessary to carry out a detailed analysis of all reasons and consequences which caused these events. Overcoming the conflict situation implies not only the observance of a right of all nations and citizens to directly express their sovereign rights and interests, but also the observance of current laws and the constitutional and legal order."

Coexistence of all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, and in every republic, can be made possible only in conditions of full observance of citizens' sovereign rights, on which political systems and all relations in society should be based.

The Presidency again stresses that government bodies in municipalities, republics, and the federation are obliged to do everything necessary to ensure that problems do not escalate further, that they are resolved in a constructive and democratic way, and they should act efficiently in accordance with the Constitution and the law in the interest of securing peace, freedom, and rights of all citizens.

The Presidency further emphasizes that competent state bodies have control over all instruments for securing public order and peace, equality, and freedom of all SFRY citizens, all nations and nationalities. It is, therefore, unacceptable to put forth demands for establishing voluntary units and parallel institutions of the system, as well as unauthorized possession of arms, obstruction of traffic, etc.

According to its constitutional duties, the SFRY Presidency is responsible for the protection of constitutional order of the country, citizens' security, and implementation of equality of nations and nationalities and their relations. Proceeding from that, and from the assessment of the situation in the country, the SFRY Presidency again stresses that it must secure peace, order, and security, that everything must be done to avoid intranational conflicts and civil war, and, in connection with that, it will take all measures belonging to it as a state body according to the SFRY Constitution and laws.

The SFRY Presidency resolutely rejects all attacks on the SFRY Presidency, because not a single measure taken by it brought about exacerbation of intranational conflicts.

The SFRY Presidency, in its capacity as supreme commander of the Armed Forces, firmly rejects and condemns the unsubstantiated suspicion and accusations against the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] that it is an alleged actor in any scenarios or on anyone's side. The JNA is the joint armed force of all our nations and nationalities, whose constitutional function is to defend the constitutional order and territorial integrity of the country, and all members of the federation. The SFRY Presidency, alone, decides on the introduction of a state of war or emergency in any part of Yugoslavia. The misinformation in this vein, spread during the recent events in certain municipalities of the Republic of Croatia, was, therefore, extremely dangerous.

The SFRY Presidency condemns all incidents and perpetrators of the unscrupulous verbal war, all threats made on behalf of certain of our nations and nationalities against others of our nations and nationalities, and all threats of redrawing borders and armed settling of accounts.

The SFRY Presidency considers that, at the present juncture, it is essential that all citizens, political parties, legal institutions and organs of government in the country should—in the interests of democracy and the progress of people and nations, and a peaceful existence in the Yugoslav community, the future character of which will be agreed by all our nations—address themselves to the tasks of economic and political reform. Furthermore, they should find a way out of the crisis, development policies, and address the promotion of human freedoms and civil rights.

The SFRY Presidency emphasizes that the Constitution and laws must be respected and are applicable to all; therefore, no changes may be made to them by force, rather only in a peaceful and constitutional manner. Furthermore, constitutional and other disputes must be resolved in the institutions of the system. On this basis, the SFRY Presidency is working on drafting proposals for future constitutional relations in Yugoslavia. The SFRY Presidency will shortly be informing the SFRY Assembly and the public about the results of these activities and the proposals for the future organization of the country.

The session also examined the further development of the crisis in the Gulf region following the Iraqi aggression and annexation of Kuwait. A report on this was delivered by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar.

The SFRY Presidency reiterated the principled stand of Yugoslavia on the condemnation and rejection of force and aggression, and expressed the determination of our country to involve itself within the framework of the United Nations, the Nonaligned Movement, and other international forums in support of a just solution to the crisis. This presupposes the swift removal of the consequences of the aggression and the restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

The SFRY Presidency emphasized that Yugoslavia endorses and supports the resolutions of the UN Security Council in connection with the crisis in the Gulf, and the actions undertaken by the UN secretary general; our country will direct its own foreign policy activities in accordance with this.

The SFRY Presidency believes that the situation in the region is dangerously deteriorating and that there is a threat of war breaking out on a wider scale. The SFRY Presidency strongly condemns the forced detention of foreign citizens of certain countries and their families in Iraq and Kuwait, and appeals to the Iraqi authorities to enable all foreign citizens to leave the threatened region without delay.

The SFRY Presidency offered its full support to all measures taken so far to protect our citizens in the region, and asked the FEC, Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, and other competent organs to monitor the further development of the situation. Furthermore, these organs should take all necessary measures to ensure, above all, the security of all our citizens who are presently in Iraq and Kuwait—including their return to Yugoslavia—and to protect the economic and other interests of our country threatened by the latest development in the crisis.

At the session, the SFRY Presidency was also informed about the positive results of the activities under way for putting into effect federal laws and regulations in connection with the sending of recruits from Slovenia for military service," the statement says in conclusion.

Referendum Begins in Backa Palanka

*AU2108204890 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] The Serbs originating from Croatia but living in Backa Palanka Commune today started taking part in the political plebiscite on the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia. Here is a report by Djordje Jarcevic:

[Begin Jarcevic recording] This referendum was organized by a group of citizens who had formed a local branch of the association of the Vojvodina Serbs stemming from Croatia with the center in Novi Sad. This was what Vojo Jatic, secretary of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina in Backa Palanka, told us.

About 20 people out of about 500 citizens of the commune who are from Croatia cast their vote on the first day of the referendum. This is a very satisfactory number since many people do not know about the referendum.

In order to have as many people as possible take part in this referendum, posters with information about where one can cast his vote about the cultural autonomy of Serbs in Croatia have been put up in the local communities both in the town itself and in the villages. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Croatian Parties Issue Proclamation

*LD2108221990 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1720 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—We will contribute to the overcoming of the current crisis situation in Croatia following the Serbian population's referendum on autonomy by creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and tolerance, it was said in a proclamation of 20 Croatian political parties issued today.

The Croatian parties did not invite representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP), which rallies Serbs in

Croatia, to the meeting, because, as it was said, the SDP acted undemocratically in events around the referendum.

The representatives of Croatian parties called on all citizens to return weapons and refrain from any form of violence.

The proclamation offers unreserved support to republican organs of power for the defence of Croatia's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Protest Issued to Federal Officials

AU2108162290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Aug 90 p 11

["N.T."-signed report: "Europe Cannot Be Entered With Quarrels"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—We are demanding that the Constitution be respected; that the fascistoid Croatian guard be dissolved; that legal documents and Ustasha symbols, which the new authorities are using to discriminate against and irritate Serbs, be banned; and that, in line with its constitutional and legal powers the Federal Executive Council, guarantee that the announced democratic referendum among the Serbian people in Croatia on autonomous rights be carried out without hindrance. These are demands presented in an open letter which the Executive Committee of the Association of Serbs from Croatia sent to Ante Markovic, head of government; Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense; and Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, after yesterday's news conference, which was attended by a large number of foreign and Yugoslav journalists. [passage omitted]

Serbs who were born in Croatia but who now live in Belgrade will be able to take part in the referendum for the autonomy and identity of the Serbs in Croatia because polling stations will be organized throughout the capital city. The association will send an open letter to the European Parliament in Strasbourg with the demand that it organize and dispatch a delegation to Croatia to establish the position and identity of the Serbian people who have been living there for centuries.

Attempts To Change Cyrillic Signs

AU2208093490 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 90 p 2

["M.C."-signed report: "Third Attempt To Remove Cyrillic Road Signs"]

[Text] Knin—Following the order of the republican inspector for roadworks, all road signs in the Knin region carrying the name of the town first in the Cyrillic and then in the Latin alphabet, were supposed to be removed. So far three attempts to do so have failed. The latest attempt—made on Thursday [16 August] morning—failed even though the militia were present. When removal of the first such road sign was attempted on the

road from Zadar, the citizens gathered together and prevented it. The workers from the roadworks department in Knin had to abandon the attempt.

POLITIKA: 'State Terrorism in Croatia'

AU2108124790 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 90 pp 1, 5-6

[Milan Cetnik report: "State Terrorism in Croatia: 'Special Units' From Zadar Disarm Militia Station in Benkovac"]

[Excerpts] Obrovac, Benkovac, 17 Aug—At about 0130 [2330 GMT] last night, special units of the Croatian police carried out a surprise attack on the police stations in Obrovac and Benkovac. The special units arrived from the direction of Zadar. In Benkovac, weapons intended for the militia reserves were taken away, but in Obrovac the confiscation of weapons was prevented.

What the Croatian leaders have not managed to do with Cyrillic road signs in Knin, they partially succeeded in Obrovac and Benkovac in the dead of last night.

Fear was spread, and disorders and confusion were provoked by methods of special warfare.

A proper all-people's alarm was raised in Benkovac very soon after the arrival of the special units in Land Rovers. Shots were fired in the air from hundreds of weapons during the night, and bomb explosions were heard.

Shortly after 0400, people began to gather in the center of the town. The alarm was raised by people from the villages surrounding Benkovac who went to the town. All the approaches to Benkovac were blocked.

As we have learned, two militiamen, one ethnic Croat and the other ethnic Serbs, were at the militia station at the moment of the surprise attack. They were ordered to hand over the key to the weapons depot.

This morning at 0800 the streets of the town were teeming with people. While the people who gathered in Benkovac waited for an official reaction by the communal authorities, we drove to Obrovac where we found several hundred people standing near the public security station.

From the visibly excited people who view strangers with mistrust, we learned that the surprise attack in Obrovac was a complete failure. Immediately after the special units had entered the town, warning shots were fired, sirens were sounded, and all bells on village churches were rung. Even dynamite was used as a means to warn citizens. Almost 2,000 people gathered in just a few minutes in front of the Obrovac militia station.

Our informants say that the Obrovac militiamen were pleased with this protection and that they were in solidarity with the people. [passage omitted]

In Obrovac, all the coffee shops in which Croatian youth gather have been closed and interethnic mistrust is

absolute. Sergej Veselinovic, 28-year-old teacher of literature, held an impromptu press conference on this subject in front of a gathered crowd which included a few ethnic Croatians, before he addressed the people who waited impatiently for his speech:

"The Croatian leadership includes proper masters for all forms of special warfare. This is an action with which they want to cause panic among the people. We do not want terrorism, but any force is countered by another force. Unless the Croatian Assembly pulls back, we will discontinue any dialogue. The people in Obrovac are very well armed," Veselinovic said.

Over 1,000 Obrovac people enthusiastically greeted the speech by Veselinovic, who tried to calm the excited people from an makeshift rostrum:

"This is sabotage and diversion carried out with methods of special warfare. This is also an opportunity to pronounce the amendments to the Croatian Constitution null and void. We are not gathered here out of willfulness and conceit, but out of great need. We have had enough of Josip Boljkovac's political platitudes," Veselinovic said. [passage omitted]

'Danger of Civil War' Viewed

AU2208091390 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
14 Aug 90 p 3

[Hido Biscevic commentary: "A Week of Decision"]

[Text] The basic truth is depressingly simple—if, in the week to come, reason does not prevail over the aroused national and political passions on the Croatian political scene, we will be faced with the real danger of civil war breaking out! It can be stated, without any exaggeration, that next week will be one of the most crucial weeks in the political history of Croatia this century; in the next few days, on the wave of insistent and unrelenting manipulation of the apparently marginal subject of the "referendum" on so-called Serbian autonomy, Croatia will finally be brought to a crossroads from which there are only two possible directions—either toward a sovereign democratic law-governed state, or toward the abyss of civil war.

We can, therefore, see before us the end of a persistent political campaign which, for more than two years already, has attempted to prevent Croatia from being set up as a sovereign democratic state. This only goes to show that the other ideological environment in Croatia has only confirmed that we are talking about territorial pretensions and not about politics or national unity! This campaign is now prepared to work with the other state-republics, through reasonable political dialogue, on the creation of some kind of "United States of Yugoslavia" as the only remaining possible model of coexistence that would prevent open warfare. This is because, while Croatia accepts the territorial status quo in Yugoslavia; while it advocates the concept of political dialogue; while post-election political realism

indisputably replaces earlier raised voices....and while practically all state-republics nowadays adhere to this orientation, the Serbian leadership tries to engineer its political survival using all available means, including a possible civil war! Does blood need to be shed in Croatia so that Milosevic's last totalitarian regime in Europe can remain in power...even briefly; in the long run, it has no historical future anyway. It is not difficult to see that, even today, Milosevic's regime is being saved exclusively by the "manufacture of enemies," the total isolation of Serbia, and aggressive expansionism; this has always been the case with dictatorships in the past, and is now being clearly demonstrated by Iraq, for example. The group of political puppets of Serbian nationality on the Croatian scene—skillfully chosen according to the criteria of personal ambitions and political loyalty—with their "referendum ballot boxes," are, in this case, "paid moles." These individuals will have to respond to their own Serbian people in Croatia—to whom they are so committed—regarding the question of the real objective of their open warmongering!

Persistence in preparing the referendum serves only as a means of manipulation in this strategy of spreading complete chaos in Croatia, in order to prevent it from being constituted as a sovereign democratic state; in this case, the present Serbia would cease to be Milosevic's political dowry. The rejection of the Croatian Assembly, the founding of a community of communes, the rejection of the constitutional amendments, the dirty propaganda war, the establishing of so-called village watches.... Only extreme political naivete could fail to recognize aims in this which have absolutely nothing to do with the real position of the Serbian people in Croatia. This renders any attempt to equate the motives of the Croatian Democratic Community with Raskovic's responses, on behalf of an appeal to calm down, politically untenable.

It is just as politically incomprehensible why political parties on the Croatian scene, regardless of their differences, do not come forward with some kind of joint statement in which they would unambiguously defend sovereignty, and eliminate guesswork about political disagreement regarding the preservation of the state. Otherwise, one should be thoroughly aware of the possible consequences: Violence and a possible conflict would turn Croatia into a hot spot in the middle of Europe. Because of its geopolitical position, an unstable Croatia would irrefutably lead to an insecure Europe. The undermining of Croatian territorial integrity would, therefore, become an international issue. This only seems to involve the "referendum." Is it not time that the European political public is told exactly what is going on and made aware of the possible extreme consequences?

Rumors of Unrest in Gracac

LD2108210190 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] After the events in the region of Knin, the tension in Lika is, in truth, not diminishing. Despite all this, still, in some places, the problems [words indistinct] and this is sometimes sufficient to make

things complicated again. Our correspondent (?Brunoslav Prpic) reports from Gracac on one such an example:

[(?Prpic)] One in a series of unconfirmed rumors last night again caused nervousness and anxiety among the inhabitants of Gracac. In fact, when word got out that, allegedly, an armed group which would attack Gracac was supposed to arrive by a night train, hundreds of people gathered at the Lovinac train station. They mistreated the staff there, and cars and people massed at a junction of the roads for Sveti Rok, Ricice and Lovinac. This was sufficient for citizens to start gathering at the Gracac railway station after midnight. When first one, and then two police patrols arrived on the spot, the people saw that this was an ordinary rumor originated by irresponsible individuals; after this, the citizens peacefully dispersed. The chairman and secretary of the municipality of Gracac, Vojislav Lukic and Bosko Jovancevic, say that such misinformation exacerbates the overall circumstances. They also recommend and call for reason and tolerance, and say it is high time people stop being taken in by such deceptions and lies. [passage omitted]

Regional Reaction Noted

LD2108223790 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1848 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—Numerous party and local authorities meetings were held throughout the Republic of Croatia today discussing the political situation in Knin and expressing support to top republican bodies and President Tudjman for the measures taken in connection with the Serb referendum on cultural autonomy.

The participants in a multi-party meeting in ethnically-mixed Dvor Na Uni, who did not include representatives of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) and the strongest opposition Serb Democratic Party (SDP) [SDS], assessed that the people had "organized themselves due to a lack of timely and objective informing". They said that the situation in the municipality was gradually calming down, that there were no conflicts, but that fear was present both among the Croats and the Serbs.

The Slavonski Orod municipal authorities expressed "bitterness over the latest events, created as a result of greater Serbia planners' aggression on the sovereignty of the republic of Croatia and bitterness over the behavior of the Army and some of its commanding officers, especially its spokesman Vuk Obradovic".

The Slavonski Broad authorities demanded that the question of disarmament of territorial defence units be urgently resolved and that republican representatives in the Yugoslav State Presidency and government be [word indistinct].

Representatives of nine parties of the Sibenik region signed a petition asking "the gentlemen who head the Serb Democratic Party living in Sibenik—Raskovic, Popovic and Dobrevic—to once and for all leave the

Sibenik region, since they have deeply humiliated and insulted the people and the town," Croatian Radio reported. President of the Yugoslav State presidency Borisav Jovic was also called to account for his "non-Yugoslav policy" and the Yugoslav Presidency was asked to secure that the Yugoslav People's Army serve the interests of all Yugoslav nations equally.

Representatives of the biggest parties of the Metkovic region assessed that the Yugoslav People's Army "sided with the policy of one republic and Slobodan Milosevic, blocking the work of the Croatian internal affairs organs". They demanded the replacement of Stipe Suvar for his "past behavior as member of the Yugoslav Presidency" and criticized the Federal Government for its "planned tactfulness".

Tudjman Views Use of Force Before Referendum

AU2108170790 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA
in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 90 p 11

[Interview with Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, by unidentified Slovene Television reporter; place and date not given: "Resoluteness To Apply All Legal Means"]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, how would you comment on the most recent events in the Knin region?

[Tudjman] That, in fact, is nothing new. These are attempts to apply a scenario created by some extremists in Croatia, as well as outside Croatia, something about which we possess some very definite facts. That scenario is made with a view to destabilizing Croatia by making the Serbian people carry out an uprising—although what they are talking about is not an armed uprising, but a peaceful uprising—and the separation of Serb communes. That, however, is completely against the law, against the constitution. Even representatives of these communes—individuals who are representing people, after all—go as far as saying that they do not recognize the constitutional amendments.

The Croatian authorities will use legal means to oppose these and any similar attempts. It is interesting that what one is trying to prove is that this is a kind of democratic movement of the entire Serbian population. That is not true at all. The Serbs living in the 11 Serbian communes with an absolute Serb majority make up only 26 percent of the Serbian population in Croatia. Moreover, in some of these communes, Croats make up 22 percent of the population, or, in the case of Obrovac, as much as 40 percent against 53 percent of Serbs. Therefore, even in those communes, Knin and Obrovac, there is no absolute Serbian majority.

Moreover, these meetings organized by Raskovic and the likes of him, including Chetnik emissaries like Seselj and others, are attended by only about five ethnic Serb deputies for all three chambers of the Croatian Assembly. At the time they were holding that rally in Srb, 24 ethnic Serb deputies were sitting at the Croatian

Assembly. Therefore, this is not at all a movement of the entire Serbian population in Croatia.

On the basis of these facts one sees that all these communes—and some of them have not even accepted the invitation to hold the referendum—represent only 26 percent of the Serbian population in Croatia. Therefore, this action has been planned from outside by Serbian extremists, that is, Chetnik elements, in order to destabilize the authorities in Croatia and cause unrest with a view to causing I don't know what kind of intervention, even an armed intervention, and overthrowing the democratic authorities in Croatia. Slovenia would be the next to fall and the further democratic transformation for the whole of Yugoslavia would be prevented. We have managed to prevent this so far and will also know how to do so in the future. We will resolutely apply all legal means available in order to protect the constitutional order in Croatia.

[Reporter] In the presidential's statement you said that you were going to use all legal means. So far, now you have just been calming down the situation.

[Tudjman] We have already banned the referendum. It is interesting that we received a reply immediately, even from the communes in question, that the communes had not organized the referendum, because that was the duty of local communities. Even these people would rather threaten and menace than admit that they are standing on legally shaky ground. And, in case that is necessary, we are going to use police force, too, particularly against such incidents as the stoning of the Maribor-Split train. We will not hesitate to use force to the limit if need be, and we will not allow the peace to be disturbed.

[Reporter] Are you going to prevent the referendum?

[Tudjman] It is clear that there is no reason for holding the referendum. They say themselves that the communes are not organizing it and that they do not know who is. We are a rule-of-law state and we will not allow anybody to play at having a state within a state and to do so with such aims! These new democratic authorities in Croatia have granted Serbs all those rights they did not have before. In the past, the Serbs did not have the right to have their own cultural and political societies and they have that right now. Therefore, there are no reasons for the referendum at all. Their rights have not been reduced, but increased. They have not only been increased, but, we are telling them—and we shall be consistently principled in fulfilling the promise—that we will grant them all civil and national rights that can be granted in a free and democratic community.

[Reporter] How will these interethnic conflicts between Croats and Serbs in Croatia be solved?

[Tudjman] It will be done in such a way that they will have to reconcile themselves to the fact that Croatia is a sovereign state which recognizes national rights for the members of all nationalities: Serbs, Italians, Jews, Hungarians, Slovaks, and Czechs, all of them. However, it

goes without saying that they will have to reconcile themselves to the fact that they are not going to be a chosen and privileged ruling people in Croatia.

Kosovo Government Extends Support to Croatia

AU2108134490 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
20 Aug 90 p 14

["B.B."-signed report: "Kosovo Government's Message to Croatian Government"]

[Text] Pristina—The legal government of Kosovo and its ethnic Albanian members, which was prevented from performing its duties following the recent decision of the Serbian Assembly to implement its latest measures in Kosovo, expresses the concern of the Kosovar people over the events in Knin. The Kosovo Government sent a message to Stipe Mesic, president of the Croatian Government, in which it says, among other things, that events in the Knin region are being followed with great interest in Kosovo. People in Kosovo are also very alarmed about the attempts aimed at destabilizing Croatia and overthrowing the democratically elected authorities. Ethnic Albanians, who have been deprived of all democratic and human rights through the imposition of a political administration and the crush of democratic processes, are aware that attempts are made to impose the same scenario in Croatia. The aim of this is to divert attention from unprecedented police and state terrorism in Kosovo. We are convinced that the Croatian people and the Croatian leadership will resolutely defend democracy and freedom and prevent the destabilization of Croatia and Yugoslavia—this was stated in the message from the Kosovo Executive Council.

Pristina Radio, TV Workers Issue Demands

LD2108220690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—The so-called Coordination Committee of Pristina Radio and Television, formed as an interim body following the introduction of the temporary measures in this media enterprise, announced at a news conference today that all Albanian workers will return to their jobs in September, but only "to their future enterprises." [as received]

On behalf of "all Albanian workers," this committee demands that all tasks specified in a referendum held in June, and carried on Pristina radio and television regarding the transformation of this media enterprise into several independent language-based ones, be implemented by September. [passage omitted]

Serbian Ministry Lists Parties for Registration

LD2108181490 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1411 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—Fifteen political parties, which have submitted formal applications for

registration, will receive official approval in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia by the end of the week, the Serbian Ministry of Justice has announced.

The following parties will be registered and will have the right to participate in multi-party elections: the Socialist Party of Serbia, the Serbian Renewal Movement, Serbian People's Renewal, the Serbian St. Sava Party, the People's Radical Party, the Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Alliance of the Youth of Serbia - New Democracy, the Workers' Party of Yugoslavia, the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians, the Party of Private Businessmen and Farmers, the New Communist Movement of Yugoslavia, the Democratic Forum, the Democratic Action Party, the Movement for the Protection of Human Rights in Yugoslavia and the Alliance of all Serbs of the World.

The list contains mainly national parties. The three parties which mention Yugoslavia in their name can be explained by the draft republican law on elections under which parties which want to compete at the multi-party elections in Serbia have to be registered in the republic.

The reason for the absence of parties of the so-called Kosovo alternative probably lies in the fact that the Kosovo parties believe they will more easily pass the conditions for registration by applying to the authorized federal organ.

Concerning elections to the Serbian Assembly, parties not registered in the republic will be allowed to nominate their candidates as a group of at least 30 citizens, along with signatures of at least 500 voters.

The Serbian Justice Ministry rejected the application of the Serbian Chetnik Movement, explaining that the name of the party - which revives the ideas of a movement for greater Serbia which was defeated by Tito's partisans in World War Two - offended public morals. The party's leader, Vojislav Seselj, has not yet taken action with the Serbian Supreme Court.

20 Percent of Slovene Recruits To Serve at Home

*LD2108194190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1757 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—20 percent of Slovenia's recruits will do their military service in the republic as of September, Yugoslavia's federal prime minister, deputy defence secretary, Slovenian premier and republican defence minister agreed in talks in Belgrade today.

Slovenian Premier Lojze Peterle said the agreement marked progress and opened the way to further negotiations. Slovenia has used the forming of Yugoslavia as a confederation and its own Army within it. [as received] Slovenia's government asked Prime Minister Ante Markovic's federal government to keep Slovenian

recruits in the Fifth Army District during their military service. That district covers all of Slovenia and a part of Croatia.

Peterle and his Defence Minister Janez Jansa returned home via Zagreb where they had talks with Croatian premier Stjepan Mesic on the situation in Kninska Krajina. They were informed that the situation in that part of Croatia is calming.

Zenica Miners Join Kreka Miners' Strike

*LD2108092790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0815 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Zenica, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—Miners of the Zenica lignite mines of Stranjani, Raspotocje, and Bila, as a sign of their solidarity with the demands of the Kreka miners who have been on strike now for about 15 days, did not go down the mines this morning. Representatives of these mines, which employ about 4,000 workers, will hold a joint meeting this morning at which agreement will be reached on what they will do and how they will work in the future. Otherwise these miners are in a difficult economic situation. For several months now workers have been receiving guaranteed personal incomes, and bankruptcy procedures have been set in motion.

Miners of the Stara Jama social enterprise, which has been operating independently since the beginning of this year, are working normally.

Kreka Miners Agree To Disperse

*LD2108103590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0842 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Summary] Sarajevo, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—The Kreka and other miners who have been in Sarajevo the last two nights have left the city, having accepted the proposal of their committees that they disperse.

Vuk Karadzic Replaces Tito on School Textbooks

*AU2008082790 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
13 Aug 90 p 3*

[Mirjana Bozic report: "Tito Steps Down From Readers"]

[Excerpts] This school year, Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic will be "smiling" from the covers of textbooks at pupils in the first grade. Thus, for the first time in almost 50 years primary school children will not be marching into classrooms with Marshall Tito, an already familiar hero with whom they have been identifying since they were small.

To be honest, this is the appropriate place for Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic, father of the new literacy, and he should have been put there a long time ago. However, it is unfortunate that this is being done in a seething political situation when everything acquires the taste of political quarrels. Thus, even the idea of printing a

reader with Vuk Karadzic's picture on it will quite certainly be portrayed in different ways and, who he was and what he did will be forgotten. [passage omitted]

To Be Condemned

However, what should definitely be condemned are the demands that have been heard in recent months in Serbia—from both official delegate benches and some of the new parties—that Josip Broz Tito be “moved from the House of Flowers” and “returned to Kumrovec.” Busts and pictures of him are being removed and in Kragujevac recently, representatives of the Serbian Chetnik Movement [Srpski Cetnicki Pokret] threw street signs with Tito's name on them into the Lepenica River. Such vandalistic behavior is not appropriate to democratic communities because people who we once swore allegiance to—regardless of whether they made mistakes and how many they made—must have their place in history and the education of young people without being abused or spat upon.

Even those who are in power today will only be history tomorrow. So let them now start trying to ensure that history contains a worthy “House of Remembrance.”

Therefore, Tito should not be thrown into the Lepenica or removed from textbooks.

Reform Alliance Member Calls for ‘Tolerance’

AU1708124790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
10 Aug 90 p 5

[Eleonora Vecovska report on interview with Dr. Veselin Vukotic, member of the Initiative Committee of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia; place and date not given: “There Is No Room in the Alliance for ‘Vengeful’ Democracy”]

[Excerpts] The Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [SRSJ] will not be an arena for those who would like to conduct “vengeful” democracy under its auspices nor for the chameleons that exist and will definitely continue to exist. True, some people will want to use the alliance for that but I think that they will quickly realize that they are not in the right milieu. The way I see the SRSJ, it should not work on a philosophy “against” but on a philosophy “for”—for the further encouragement of reform processes which will use its internal strength to clear a path through restrictions. Therefore, I think that it is also accessible to many “ordinary” citizens, young people, and those who are aware that people can and must live from their own work, Veselin Vukotic told BORBA. [passage omitted]

[Vecovska] You read in the newspapers that reactions in the country to the formation of the SRSJ range from citizens' unreserved support through qualified support to totally negative stands and attitudes expressed by certain parties, and above all by their leaders. How do you interpret this?

[Vukotic] Everyone sees this in different ways. I can only say from my personal viewpoint that this alliance should create a different climate for implementing the economic and social reform to which the Federal Executive Council [FEC] is committed. It should be the proponent of new thinking and the creation of a new mental ambience for the reform to be implemented. I think that the general frenzy must be replaced with reason, and the provincial arrogance and “know-all” attitude which are now present on the Yugoslav political scene must be replaced with tolerance and facts.

Ignorance and Lack of Understanding

We are now living in an atmosphere of what I would call lazy thinking which “does not have time” for reasoned arguments and facts but is therefore slave to prejudices and half-truths.

At the same time, on the surface there is much ignorance and lack of understanding of the times in which we are living. The SRSJ should in fact contribute to the ideas of the program of economic and social reform directly reaching every citizen and to enabling every citizen to vote at polling stations either “for” or “against,” that is to say, enable the citizens of Yugoslavia to vote in a plebiscite on this program. Of course, the way this is done and its range would be the same for all parts of the country.

[Vecovska] The Initiative Committee of the SRSJ has been receiving information from throughout the country from people who do not want any kind of intermediary between themselves and the alliance. Some political parties and structures have appeared in the field and proclaimed themselves initiative committees, but citizens do not accept this and want to set them up on their own initiative and through these, make contact with the SRSJ.

[Vukotic] I think that in itself this shows the great trust that people have in the idea and program around which this alliance is rallying them. Even until now we have had the situation in which an ordinary person sees the program of the FEC as psychological security. The main task of the SRSJ is to transform this trust into creative thought, into concrete life.

[Vecovska] We also have the situation in which ideas have already been launched and the commitment has been voiced to secure the economic sovereignty of individual federal units. Why have these ideas and commitments not been given a chance in the programs of the FEC and the SRSJ which are identical?

[Vukotic] There is the very common view that many problems in certain regions of the country have arisen because these regions do not have enough “national substance.” This is an illusion which becomes a material force under the conditions of irrational passions and which pulls further into the next stupidity whereby the solution to all problems is sought on a platform with as large a national element as possible, and this means as

much self-isolation as possible. Isolation is a sign of sickness and probably the inability to accept the new reform course. [passage omitted]

Macedonia's Mitkov Hears Vevcani Group's Request

LD2008191690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Skopje, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Vladimir Mitkov, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, held talks today with a delegation from the village of Vevcani concerning their demands for the formation of a municipality (of Vevcani).

It was said that for decades Vevcani residents have been living under pressure from the municipal centre in Struga, that there has been a big upward trend in migration processes and that the development of the village is constantly being hampered. Vevcani residents believe that by acquiring (the status of) a municipality they will resolve more easily the developmental and communal problems of the municipalities in this border area in western Macedonia. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Appeals for Loyalty

LD2108205690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—In case the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia (ARFY) [SRSJ] (party based upon the program of the government of Ante Markovic) constitutes itself as a conventional political party, we are calling the members of the League of Communists (LC) to stay within our ranks—says today's announcement by the presidency of the LC of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina—Party of Democratic Changes (LCBH-PDC) [LCC-SDP].

The announcement was issued concerning what was said to be "confusion and controversial interpretations about the character and profile of the ARFY and concerning the formation of an ARFY initiative board for Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The LCBH-PDC maintains that statements made by members of the ARFY initiative board about the founding of autonomous political parties in the republics are in discrepancy with Ante Markovic's initiatives regarding ARFY.

This, as the LCBH-PDC believes, does not comply with the basic idea according to which the ARFY should be an alliance of citizens, associations, parties and movements, rather than a conventional political party with membership of its own.

Alleged Attack on SDA, SDS Members Probed

LD2108171190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Vlasenica, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—The police forces from Srebrenica and Bratunac are searching for perpetrators and investigating causes of incidents in which firearms were used, and stones hurled at vehicles transporting participants in rallies held in Srebrenica [Hercegovina]. These rallies were organized by the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije - SDA] and the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka - SDS].

The SDA and Serbian Democratic Party founding assemblies were held on Sunday in different parts of Srebrenica; the SDA gathered in front of a church, and the Serbian Democratic Party in front of a cultural center. Apart from the well-known signs and slogans, the rallies were peaceful. According to eyewitnesses, incidents occurred only after the assemblies finished. On their way home, when passing through the villages of Potocari and Glogova, windshields and windows on about 20 cars were damaged, and some people sustained head injuries. Milan Grujic, a coach driver from Orasovica, sustained serious head injuries. The other side (SDA sympathizers) claimed that stones had been hurled as a response to provocations made by Serbian Democratic party members on their way to the founding assembly. Some other protesters wore Serbian hats with the Chetnik cockade and threatened passers-by in predominantly Muslim villages. Savo Alempic and Milomir Krsmanovic, heads of the police stations in Srebrenica and Bratunac, stated that they will inform the public about results of the investigation as soon as possible.